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Co-constructing a nurturing and culturally relevant academic environment for struggling readers : (dis)locating crisis and risk through strategic alignment.

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CO-CONSTRUCTING A NURTURING AND CULTURALLY RELEVANT ACADEMIC ENVIRONMENT FOR STRUGGLING READERS: (DIS)LOCATING CRISIS AND RISK THROUGH STRATEGIC ALIGNMENT

A Dissertation Presented

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ABSTRACT

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Current educational reform represented by the No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB) symbolizes the summit of neoliberal reforms initiated more than three decades ago with the A Nation At Risk report (ANAR). The so called progressive plea of 'leaving no child behind' has brought poignant changes to US education in general providing an unprecedented impetus for new privatization schemes that disproportionably affect school districts serving large population of minority, low-income students in urban areas. This study provides a macro-micro framework for analyzing teachers' recontextualizations in the context of current reforms and demands.

At the macro level, the study analyzes focal intertextual thematic formations (Lemke, 1995) in two cornerstone educational texts, namely, the ANAR report and the NCLB act. Particular historical aspects related to of the assemble of relations (Gramsci, 1971) that overdetermined the production of these texts are also examined. The study then uses the insights gained from this analysis of what is called the 'cultural-pedagogic reservoir" as an entry point into analyzing in detail the "individual-pedagogic repertoire" of an experienced middle-school teacher as intertextual thematic formations particular to

the focal texts re-emerge and are recontextualized in the interactions constructed in an intervention program for mostly Latino struggling readers. More specifically, the study analyzes the linguistic organization, and pedagogic genre of an experienced teachers' academic recontextualization and how these are accomplished in interaction in underperforming schools intervened by America's Choice, the district's "turn around" private partner.

The specific Critical Discourse Analysis approach used draws purposely on analytical tools of Systemic Functional Linguistics theory and Genre theory (Halliday and Martin 1993; Martin, 2000; Martin and Rose 2003).

This applied linguistic approach is complemented by the emancipatory agenda of critical ethnography and the overdeterminist class analysis of postmodern Marxism. Findings from linguistic analysis of policy texts reveal that the notions of risk, and crisis advanced by the ANAR report are taken into an unprecedented technocratic level in the No Child Left Behind Act that promote a new privatization (Burch, 2006) as the products and services of private companies are marketed not only as aligning to the law, but being "scientifically proven." The focal teacher working under this conditions was found to consistently use of a patterned and specific purposeful, goal oriented, and staged pedagogic genre organized through ideological principles that responded to a particular and context-bound way of alignment: "Strategic Alignment." Such a Strategic alignment represents an ideological framework that expands the frame of accountability to all stakeholders of the educational process, and not only to those most interested in promoting fidelity with standards and mandates. The teacher not only simultaneously and flexibly responded to standards and mandates represented by the "turn around" company

(America's Choice), but also aligned to the needs, rights, and backgrounds of students, and to the thought collectives (Ramanathan, 2002) of the teaching profession. Even though the language of Strategic Alignment was found to be realized as a culturally relevant academic co-constructed linguistic space and a nurturing environment for Latino low-income struggling readers in an urban middle school and because it happens in the context of this new privatization scheme, such responsive pedagogical practices may well be co-opted and used as arguments to dismantle public schooling altogether.

Keywords:
NCLB, Systemic Functional Linguistics, Latino Struggling Readers, Privatization, Responsive Pedagogy

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INTRODUCTION

Statement of the Problem

In these neoliberal dominant times, economics provide the most powerful rationale. Public institutions, and more specifically, public schools, present ideal targets for elimination because they are perceived as "big government institutions" that nations can no longer afford if they want to remain competitive at a global level. Although dismantling public education to gain global competition leverage seems politically impossible to many, some policymakers are convinced that this is an essential step on the road to continued U.S. economic dominance. Such a revisionist view of public education has been made possible because of restructured relations between economic and non-economic fields, involving the extensive colonization of economic aspects into the non-economic ones.

Milton Friedman, recipient of the Nobel prize in economics and perhaps one of the most prominent neoliberal figures, advocates minimizing the role of government in a free market as a means of achieving "political and social freedom." Friedman points to what he considers the only precursor of real change and summarizes the role of neoliberal thinkers in advancing such change:

> "Only a crisis - actual or perceived - produces real change. When that crisis occurs, the actions that are taken depend on the ideas that are lying around. That, I believe, is our basic function: to develop alternatives to existing policies, to keep them alive and available until the politically impossible becomes politically inevitable." (Friedman & Friedman, 1982)

If Friedman is right that actions taken depend on the ideas lying around, and the ideas dominating the U.S. political landscape in the last three decades are neoliberal, it is a given that recent political actions have been dominated by neoliberal ideas.

It is not coincidental that 'neoliberal actions' in educational reform, galvanized by the 'A Nation at Risk' report and advanced by the 'Excellence Movement,' have focused on demonstrating the weaknessess, poor standards and unsustainable nature of the U.S. public education system. Meanwhile, the cross-pollination of economic and non-economic fields is in part a "breakdown and redrawing of the boundary between the language of education and the language of the market" (Fairclough, 2000a). The related rhetoric used to justify a change in and/or complete overhaul of public education comes from the same sources used to craft a crisis in public education. As a result, the neoliberal approach to educational reform, represented by Friedman's quote above and currently advanced by the No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB), has successfully promoted a market-based approach to public schooling that was politically impossible three decades ago. Such an approach somehow became politically inevitable with the bipartisan approval of the NCLB act without significant resistance in 2001.

Ironically, the "progressive" plea of "leaving no children behind" has brought great challenges to U.S. education in general, and particularly to low-performing school districts serving a large percentage of 'at risk' and culturally and linguistically diverse students. This is so in part because, under the NCLB act, quality assessment relies on indicators such as standardized tests, which are significantly lower in schools districts serving a large amount of culturally and linguistically diverse students from low-income

families. These assessments then provide the basis for resource allocations while the effort to achieve good results guides instruction. Should schools fail to conform to these standards, educational policies invariably promote takeovers, whether by the state or private companies, aimed at remedying 'chronic' underperformance. Paradoxically, underperforming school districts may be punished with fewer resources until they perform at the desired level.

Conversely, chronically underperforming schools or school districts serving a large number of minority students may be "rewarded," through the allocation of federal Title I funds that are to be spent only on materials and "scientifically proven" practices. By this process, private 'turn-around partners' receive public funds, therefore becoming responsible for setting curricular priorities and providing all professional development for teachers in the school. Consequently, this is also how federal funds, gathered from public taxes, create big profits for private companies. Such partnerships are often set up under conditions of great pressure for both the private company and the school. The pressure however, is highly different for each party. To secure Title I funds from more school districts and therefore make a profit from education reform, private companies must build a record of success and effectiveness requisite under the NCLB act[1].

Meanwhile schools, and teachers in particular, are asked once more to 'buy into' new interventions successful in other settings. This process always implies following specific curricular guidelines, using specific pedagogic materials, and even following scripts and/or highly prescribed lesson plans. Because of the high-stakes consequences of not reaching the NCLB-mandated 'Adequate Yearly Progress' (AYP), teachers often find themselves torn between the 'scientifically proven' practices that the private partner

claims to rely on, and what they themselves know about pedagogic practice and their students' needs and backgrounds.

This dissertation traces specific intertextual links illuminating ways in which the high-stakes environment promoted by neoliberal capitalism affects the 'how,' the 'what,' and the 'why' of instruction, specifically in a classroom of students with a Latino background struggling to read English. At the classroom level, this study focuses on how a teacher 'strategically aligns' to practices mandated by the state or private company overseeing curricular operations; that is, how a teacher strives to advance instruction that not only conforms to but enhances official mandates. In this study, strategic alignment proved essential to advancing a culturally and linguistically nurturing environment for struggling minority readers in a self-contained classroom. However, because the teacher's principled curricular practices were inside the frame of official accountability, her efforts were potentially co-optible, used towards a 'record of effectiveness' securing appropriation and distribution of future surplus labor for these private companies.

The building of a 'record of effectiveness' by private companies in zones where public education has supposedly 'failed' should not be taken lightly as it sends a powerful but misleading message to educational stakeholders and the general public. Part of the deception lies in the way that the strategy follows a neoliberal rationale that seeks to limit and eventually shrink public budgets to starvation as it paves the way for moving government services to the private sector. Some of these initiatives have progressive but purposely misleading names such as TABOR (Taxpayer Bill of Rights) or TELS (Tax and Expenditure Limits, dubbed SOS for Stop OverSpending in several Midwest states)[2]. With this reasoning, it does not seem strange that the best-known TABOR boosters are

also impassioned advocates of private school vouchers. The current punitive NCLB measures that cut already inadequate federal funding for schools failing to reach AYP while benefiting private companies follows this pattern. This may well seem part of a purposeful strategy as public schools are forced to fail and privatization is held up as the only alternative. These issues will be addressed further in the review of literature.

Context

Nearly 70% of the nation's English Language Learners (officially called LEP) are enrolled in 10% of its schools. This suggests that ELL's are largely concentrated in a small number of schools ("High-LEP") predominately located in urban areas. Thus, what is already known about poor, minority, immigrant-serving urban schools is highly relevant to the study of the education of English Language Learners, as these students are largely minority and economically disadvantaged (Cosentino de Cohen, Deterding, & Chu Clewell, 2005).

The demographics from the school in which this research was conducted are consistent with national trends showing a close relationship between low-income and low-achieving groups. According to statistics from the Department of Education in Massachusetts, 92% of Hispanics in the focal school who took the ELA portion of the MCAS for grade 4 in 2005 ranked in the 'Needs Improvement' or 'Warning' performance level categories. Close to 80% of students in the focal school are Hispanic, and 88% of those who took this portion of the test are low-income students. This correlation indicates that a high percentage of the low achieving, low-income students in this school are Hispanic.

As a Title I institution with persistent underachievement and a high number of underachieving minority students, the focal school was subjected to 'systemic' reform efforts in response to local and federal provisions. These reforms effectively changed curricular orientations. One change to highlight, because of its major impact on instruction in the focal classroom, was the replacement of the original literacy collaborative model with "Ramp up to Literacy," the model promoted by America's Choice, Inc. America's Choice, Inc., a subsidiary of the National Center on Education and the Economy based on Washington, D.C., became both the beneficiary of Title I funds allocated to the school and the party responsible for setting up curricular priorities in the focal school.

Purpose

Teachers faced with external mandates or curricular innovations often find a middle ground among the traditions of adapting changes to local circumstance, complying in minimum ways, or sabotaging reforms (D. B. Tyack & Cuban, 1995). Reports analyzing the impact of private comprehensive school reform design (such as those presented by America's Choice, Inc.) are currently available. The National Center on Education and the Economy itself has contracted external entities such as the Consortium for Policy Research and Education (CPRE, associated with the University of Pennsylvania) to conduct yearly evaluations of the America's Choice, Inc. school design (see CPRE website at http://www.cpre.org/index.php, visited December 2007). However, detailed studies analyzing the nature, purpose, format and motivations for teachers'

academic recontextualizations or overt resistance, and how these are accomplished in underperforming schools where private companies have intervened, are scarce.

The purpose of this study is to contribute to this lack of literature by exploring in detail the materialization of the cultural in the individual. That is, the study identifies significant topics in educational reform that constitute the available and dominant pedagogic practices of our time and place. The analysis focuses on the dominant pedagogic meanings forged by cornerstone educational reports in the U.S. during the last three decades, and the "ensemble of relations" (Gramsci 1971) that influenced their construction. This 'ensemble of relations' includes the non-educational values represented, and the educational rationale for dealing differently with minority students.

The study takes into account this broader cultural pedagogic context to analyze in detail and through linguistic data the individual pedagogic practices of a highly experienced and successful teacher working in a school district under the curricular guidance of America's Choice, Inc., a 'turn-around' private partner for the school.

This research increases understanding about the ways in which experienced teachers work successfully with low-achieving minority students. More specifically, it details how curricular units and lessons are structured to assemble a wealth of systematic linguistic choices that build a nurturing and culturally relevant academic environment for struggling readers of low-income, Latino background.

Study Significance

English Language Learners are the most rapidly growing population in U.S. schools. The number of ELL's has increased by 57.12% in the period between 1995 and

2006. In Massachusetts, total enrollment has dropped to -4.5% in 2005 since 1992, while ELL enrollment has increased by 12.2% in the same period of time. Despite this ongoing change in population, and taking into account the persistent and almost unchanged academic performance gap between ELL students and their mainstream counterparts (Parrish et al., 2006), schools serving a high percentage of ELL's face more difficulties filling teaching vacancies and are more likely to rely on unqualified and/or substitute teachers than schools with few or no LEP students (Cosentino de Cohen et al., 2005).

This study is significant as it provides detailed information about the structure and linguistic realization of the pedagogic repertoire of an experienced and successful teacher, who is building a nurturing and culturally relevant environment for underperforming ELL Latino students. The analysis of this teacher's pedagogic repertoire is located within a multilayered contextualization, contributing to sociocultural theory through exploring the idea of the cultural reappearing in the individual (that is, how pedagogic reservoirs materialized through a specific pedagogic repertoire), and by highlighting the systematic regulation of meanings effected by sweeping reforms such as the NCLB act. This study contributes to our understanding of the perennial and fundamental problem of micro-macro relations in educational sociology, centering on discourse analysis as the conceptual bridge between social structures that produces the dominant pedagogic ideas foregrounded in the focal classroom.

This study then responds to the renewed appeal of creatively combining social theories with discursive tools, an imperative born of the need for a framework and tools with which to understand and analyze contemporary changes occurring in work, education, and other institutions/practices around the world. Finally, this study produces

a systematic linguistic analysis of the successful co-construction of pedagogic genres that help forge renewed academic identities in these Latino subjects. These students and their struggles are indeed representative of school-age Latinos, the largest minority group in the U.S. and also the one with highest levels of dropout and failure in schools[3].

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Ontological and Epistemological Grounds

In trying to make sense of any academic issue, the author necessarily writes from a particular 'situated' point of view. In this chapter, I provide a review of the literature concerning the specific 'ensemble of relations' (Gramsci 1971) fueling educational reform during the early 1980's in the United States, which principles persist at the start of the 21st century. This review is specific to my particular ontological and epistemological position, one that rejects the epistemological grounds of determinism and embraces a postmodern overdeterminist position. A brief description of these two different positions as they apply to educational reform follows.

Determinism has led theorists to look for determinants rather than the constitutive parts distinguishing any form of schooling. In this way, any "key" determinants picked in any given circumstance are susceptible to be 'unpicked' by others studying the same phenomena. Similarly, any variables designated "determinants" become hegemonic not because they are more essential or important for the studied phenomena, but because these determinants were selected by agents invested with hegemonic power.

It is in this sense that overderterminists assert that certain privileged explanations of a phenomenon tell us less about the very phenomenon being studied (because it is overdetermined), and more about those who chose them. For an overdeterminist then, the task is not so much to present dogmatic truths to others, but to explore an issue from a specific "entry point." They do this in the hope of shedding light on the studied

phenomenon without claiming a total knowledge of the object of study. Thus, both determinists and overdeterminists seek to persuade others to endorse their arguments, but they do so in different ways. Determinists do so by means of affirming absolute truths; overdeterminists refer to relative truths, each of which sees and impacts upon society in different ways.

To stress the impossibility of absolutely covering everything that has been written on a specific topic is not to say that a review of the literature is a futile task. On the contrary, a review seeks to bring to the fore useful material that has been studied before and that would be important to consider in future studies and academic endeavors. What must be borne in mind is that foregrounding is always mediated by the distinct aims and interests of those doing the foregrounding; furthermore, in bringing to the fore certain ideas and materials there are always other aspects that stay in the background although not necessarily of less value.

Introduction

Given such epistemological ground, this review of literature focuses on the 'ensemble of relations' (Gramsci, 1971) surrounding what I consider the constitutive parts fueling a rhetorical change on educational reform during the early 1980's. These are important to consider in the present educational reform landscape.

I will first explore historical conditions overdetermining the end of the 'golden era of capitalism' around the mid-1970's. This analysis is coupled with a historical view of competing but complementary visions of formal education and the constant 'crisis' in which it has found itself. I will then elaborate on the relation of these issues to the

emergence of neoliberal globalization as a newly dominant economic rationale, and review the work of some important critics of the neoliberal approach to education, assessing their impact on shaping the educational debate. This exploration is necessary to evaluate what happens at the interior of the classroom, what types of knowledge are valued in those interactions, and why it has become necessary for the teacher to strategically align to external official mandates.

In light of these issues, the second part of this review focuses on the emergence of a new form of political economy: a 'knowledge-based' economy. Unprecedented changes in people's lifestyles have occured in this new society. One of the most important is that many people no longer spend as much time producing and exchanging goods as in producing and exchanging information. A contemporary study on education and literacy in particular is located within this context of producing and exchanging information. This is why attending to language and to texts produced in educational circles (including educational reform and classroom interactions) is so crucial.

Therefore, this review also highlights the discursive construction of literacy and its stakeholders (i.e., students and teachers). This construction is not only attempted and realized in a top-down fashion (through mandates and standards from the state), but is interpreted and recontextualized in interaction—that is, in language in use. Each section in this review recursively draws on other sections and explores perceived social consequences of the arguments developed throughout. For example, one issue explored is the disastrous consequences of dismissing structural inequity for children, accomplished in part through neoliberal capitalist language working on the premises of individualization of desire, risk, and deficit.

Managing Consent and Crafting Crisis through the Rhetoric of Risk: An Historical Context

Looking back in history, it is possible to track down mechanisms for managing consent and the course of society. In the U.S. these managing structures are traceable to the 1880's, a period often described as the "Age of Reform," in which purposeful interventions in the shape of reforms soon became part of the normal regulation of social life. This "Age of Reform," also called "The Progressive Era" (1880-1920), included the formation of a state administration to coordinate major segments of society through management structures at the level of social welfare, government, transportation, and mass schooling (Popkewitz, 1991).

The economic debacle of the Great Depression (1929-1939), which resulted in an unemployment rate of 25% by 1933 (five times the current unemployment rate), as well as a major decline in productivity, brought with it a major distrust of capitalism in general and of the Republican Party, which had been in power before the Depression began. A majority of people wanted government to step in and 'make right' what had gone so wrong. It was in this context that Franklin D. Roosevelt was elected in 1932 and reelected three times before his death in office, in 1945. In this period of time, known as "The New Deal," the welfare state was born; social security, unemployment insurance, and many other guarantees that had never existed before were established to attempt to deal with the economic crisis. Corporations, mainly supported by Republicans, immediately went to war with the welfare state; the Democratic adoption of Keynesian economics entailed highly taxing these corporations to pay for the public's services and guarantees.

The End of the Golden Era and the 'Crisis' of Education

The end of World War II brought abrupt changes in the organization of the world economy. Although war devastated the economy and social networks of entire countries such as Japan and Germany, the United States' industrial infrastructure was left intact; indeed, the technological requirements of wartime production increased efficiency of mass production and improved product quality.

During the period after the war through the mid-70's (1945-1973), the United States consolidated itself as the strongest economy in the world and positioned itself as the unchallenged provider of both wage goods[4] and capital goods[5]. With rising profitability, fast growth and full employment, profits soared in the U.S. even as unionized workers secured a portion of this rising surplus through union bargains and sold their labor power at a higher rate. This was a time when the United States was the country with the most equitable distribution of wealth in the Western world.

As its productive capacities were greater after the war than those of any other country, the U.S. took a leadership role in designing those postwar institutions and interventions that would prove enduring and determinant in molding international economic relations. In 1946, at the Bretton Woods Conference (named as such for the New Hampshire resort town where the conference was held) four highly influential institutions and initiatives were created: the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (The World Bank), the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs (GATT) and the Marshall Plan (which provided aid to Europe while conveniently increasing U.S. exports).

This so-called "Golden Age of Capitalism" was not exclusive to the United States. While the U.S. economy continued to grow at a fast pace (propelled and guided by Cold War politico-military issues between the United States and the Soviet Union), the economies in Western Europe and Japan also grew as they rebuilt their economic infrastructure (Heilbroner & Milberg, 2002). This period was as close to a global boom as the world has ever experienced and provided deep economic impetus to the Western world in general and particularly to the U.S.

With major structural shifts around the mid-70's a crisis of profitability emerged as the U.S. lost its world hegemony in the global economy. This situation was triggered by many constitutive events — third world revolutions, mounting international economic competition, the victories of U.S. social movements — but the fact that the U.S. was invaded by foreign and cheaper wage goods, the dramatic explosion of inflation, and the shortage in U.S. oil production and rising consumption were the key factors causing the end of this 'golden age' (Heilbroner & Milberg, 2002). These changes weakened capitalists' profits and the value of workers' labor fell.

Campaigning against the welfare state as the source of these social evils, Republicans and corporate interests became dominant. Reverting to a familiar strategy in times of crisis, people called upon the parties previously without power, in this case Republicans and corporations, to 'make right' what had gone wrong. Henceforth Keynesian economics and its strong endorsement of government spending as a counterforce against poverty lost its hegemony, and the laissez-faire economic approach so popular in the 18th and 19th centuries began to re-emerge. By the late 1970's, it was popular belief that the government was part of the problem, as Keynesian economics had

failed to reduce inflation and eliminate poverty. Beginning with the last two years of the Carter Presidency and continuing with potent force during the Reagan Era, the economic reaction in the U.S. involved: a) an attack on the unions and the premiums they had secured during the golden era; b) a call for the productivity increase of U.S. workers; and c) a 'patriotic' call to 'Buy American'. Ronald Reagan in the U.S. and Margaret Thatcher in England campaigned and came to power along with the conservative ideal of dismantling the welfare state that had thrived in the 1960's. This is the context for the emergence of global neoliberalism and the dominant economic paradigm of the late 20th century.

Before exploring further the time period in which global neoliberalism became dominant and the ways in which has attacked public education ever since, it is both useful and necessary to provide a brief history of competing but complementary visions of education, its 'crisis,' and the major social consequences of such visions.

Education: Panacea and Scapegoat

Education has historically been contested terrain, often defined in contradictory ways. However, two philosophies have recurred throughout history: the idea of education as 'the great equalizer' and the belief that education is and has been in a state of crisis. It is particularly interesting to look at these two concepts, not only because persist throughout history but because both progressives and conservatives argue, in different ways, that education is key to society's well-being even while falling short of this promise.

In the 19th century, the crisis of education was a moral one tied to the uneven distribution of wealth. One of the most influential politicians and educational thinkers of the period, Horace Mann, considered this crisis the representation of the inability of society to live up to "challenges to a new age," where virtue is far from recounting as many triumphs in the moral world as intellect has won in the material (Filler, 1965 p. 97).

All during the 20th century, the rhetoric of crisis in education continued. In 1933 while evaluating education in a period of depression and social unrest, a governmental delegation including the president of the United States held what they called "The Citizen's Conference on the Crisis in Education". A central conclusion of the conference held that schools were being asked to do more with less; furthermore, if proper education was to be a source of prosperity, expenditures should take into account the needs of traditionally unprivileged groups such as "Negroes" (Education, 1933 p. 14).

Debates on education have mainly been fueled by two competing approaches, each of which assigned blame to the other. In "*Educational Wastelands*," published in 1953, for example, professor Arthur Bestor represented a position stressing rigorous standards and common academically oriented curriculum; he harshly criticizes progressive education's influence on U.S schools and the 'child-centered movement' initiated by John Dewey's 1916 publication "*Democracy and Education*," and continued by several others such as William Heard Kilpatrick and Harold Rugg.

As student enrollment and demand for education dramatically increased after World War two, the debate over the best way to educate became so prominent by the mid-1970's that it was constructed as both the cause and the solution to the concurrent economic crisis. This debate functioned as a smoke screen diverting attention and

effectively masking a crisis in profitability and surplus—that is, a crisis in capitalism. Thus, in a move that knows no parallel, not even in the presence of similar profitability problems experienced during the Great Depression, the source for the crisis in the production, appropriation and distribution of surplus labor was conveniently reconstructed and recontextualized as a crisis in education. The United States was a "nation at risk," but what kind of risk?

> The risk is not only that the Japanese make automobiles more efficiently than Americans and have government subsidies for development and export. It is not just that the South Koreans recently built the world's most efficient steel mill, or that American machine tools, once the pride of the world, are being displaced by German products. It is also that these developments signify a redistribution of trained capability throughout the globe. Knowledge, learning, information, and skilled intelligence are the new raw materials of international commerce and are today spreading throughout the world as vigorously as miracle drugs, synthetic fertilizers, and blue jeans did earlier. (A Nation at Risk, 1983, p.)

This is how education became a key process in 'saving' what the producers of this report call 'a Nation at Risk'. I find it not coincidental that an educational report focuses on productivity; as I show in the previous historical analysis and as Alan Luke reiterates:

> The rhetorical tactics are straightforward and remarkably consistent across the U.S., Canada, and Australia: To attribute structural macro-economic problems to lack of educational productivity (e.g., levels of literacy, technical/ scientific expertise), and thereby shift the responsibility for negative aspects of economic restructuring onto teachers, schools and, ultimately, students and communities (A. Luke, 1998 p. 310).

This historical view of the 'ensemble of relations' (Gramsci 1971) is intended to provide a broader view of the context in which the Nation at Risk report was produced, and how it affected schools and later provided ideological support for conservative values and conceptions of literacy. Such conservative tactics included a major focus on the allocation of resources following a market-based approach, which in turn marked the

emergence of a newly capitalistic educational era: education based on rigorous standards, high-stakes testing, and harsh punitive measures. In what follows, I focus on the period in which the report was issued, its unique neoliberal characteristics, and perceived social consequences derived from ideas distributed and naturalized through dissemination of meanings associated with the report.

Neoliberalism and the Attack on Public Schooling in the U.S.

Many scholars studying the cultural, social, political and economic characteristics of our world agree that we are witnessing a profound and radical change in society which has accelerated in the past two decades {see for instance Giddens, 1984; Giddens, 2000; Hargreaves, 1994; Huyssens, 1984; Harvey, 1989; Apple, 2000; Capella, 2000}. With the advent of information technology during the 1980's and its consolidation during the 1990's, the world is changing at a faster pace than ever (Warschauer 2000:521).

This new era is probably best characterized as a fast-paced society in which social relations are affected by technologies developed at a macro level and by the subsequent accommodation, resistance and struggle by communities that receive such technologies. These changes have brought on phenomena such as globalization, often called a condition of postmodernity (A Luke & Luke, 2000).

Much has been written about globalization and education and its pervasive force in other broader realms in the last two decades. For example, globalization and politics (Michael Apple, 2000), globalization and economics (Milner, 2002), globalization and culture change (Appadurai, 1996; Darder, Torres, & Gutíerrez, 1997; Giroux & Phi Delta Kappa. Educational Foundation., 1999; A Luke & Luke, 2000; Robertson, 1992; Waters,

2001). Especially during the last decade, writing about globalization and education has expanded beyond developed or developing countries to cover its impact on entire continents. The topic has been discussed in many contexts by experts from Africa (Morrow & King, 1998; Thobejane, 2003); India (Kamat, 2000); Latin America (Darder et al., 1997; Rodríguez C, 2001); North America (A Egan-Robertson, 1998a; Spring, 1998); Australia (Marginson, 1997); Asia (Ohmae, 1995), and Europe (Stoer & Cortesao, 2000).

Globalization is a powerful force shaping both broad and local levels of human relations. At the broadest level, third world internationalization of educational politics set forth by supranational institutions such as the World Bank and the IMF (Mundy, 2002), is causing not only systematic reform of education but systematic reorganization of civil and state society (Kamat, 2000). One aspect of this reorganization concerns trade; for instance, pacts such as the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) take political power away from national governments and give more power to multinational corporations (Rifkin, 1995). Another aspect, with direct links to this dissertation, is the reorganization of value[6] as understood in a "knowledge-based society". I will return to the knowledge-based society and its implications for any discussion about literacy; for now, I will to concentrate on the neoliberal project and how it affects education today.

The Neoliberal Ideology

The beginning of the 1980's, characterized by globalization, was also when Neoliberalism emerged as the dominant economic ideology (Pannu 1996 p.87). As stated before, neoliberal ideology is informed by the classical political and economic laissez-

faire liberalism of the 18th and 19th centuries; as manifested in the a current movement, it often takes the name Neoliberalism. In essence, neoliberals promote free, unregulated markets coupled with aggressive individualism (Burbules & Torres, 2000; Lankshear, 2000; Pannu, 1996; Popkewitz, 1991; Wells, Carnochan, Slayton, Lee Allen, & Vasudeva, 1998). Neoliberals strongly support the superiority of the market as opposed to the state. As fearlessly stated by Thurow 1996 p.1 (and cited in Wells, et al): "The market, and the market alone, rules. No one doubts it."

In addition, they maintain that free markets (not regulated by nations or rules) maximize economic profits and serve as the main guarantor of individual freedom. Neoliberals firmly believe that the "invisible hand of the market will assure a more efficient world economy, thereby improving the material conditions of people across the world" (Wells et al., 1998, p. 325). In essence, unregulated markets are the means and the symbol of social progress (Michael Apple, 2000; Pannu, 1996; Wells et al., 1998, p. 323). Because economics are the most powerful rationale for Neoliberals, they see any public institutions as "black holes" (Apple 2000:59); schools in particular represent the "big government" institutions that nations can no longer afford if they want to remain competitive at a global level (Wells, Carnochan, et al. 1998:324). With this in mind, neoliberals argue for a weak state in which public schools no longer exist and are replaced by non-public agencies, which will function as decentralized, autonomous institutions.

R.S Pannu claims that neoliberal globalization is essentially a class project and argues that this specifically promotes two things: privatization and/or dualization of public education. By dualization of public education Pannu implies unequal access to and

purpose of education based on class. That is, the dualization of the public education system helps *classify* certain services and missions. The two branches of this dual education comprise one, poorly funded, offering education of marginal merit to the majority, and the another, well funded, offering superior quality education to the privileged minority (Pannu, 1996). Bowles and Gintis provide an example of this dualization in the context of community colleges. In their groundbreaking book, "Schooling in Capitalist America," they invoke the following quote by sociologist Amitai Etzioni of Columbia University:

> If we can no longer keep the floodgates closed at the admissions office, it at least seems wise to channel the general flow away from four-year colleges and toward two-year extensions of high school in the junior and community colleges. *Wall Street Journal*, March 17, 1970 (Bowles and Gintis 1976 p. 204).

Advocates of privatization in public schools see the move as an opportunity to get together government and business in what they know how to do best. Government has historically been the most successful institution in providing public schooling, while business has proven effective in cutting costs and maximizing production (i.e., increasing test scores). Opponents, on the other hand, distrust the project as a philosophy based on competition. They feel that the individual needs of students, particularly those with special and costly accommodations, can not be met and will be sacrificed for results or profit. If traditional ways of schooling typically underserve underrepresented students, thereby reproducing inequities and reinforcing the status quo, opponents say the neoliberal model, based on applying the rules of competition to uneven populations, would leave many of those underserved even farther behind.

The literature commonly views mainstream formal schooling as traditionally functioning as an institution regulating social order and maintaining current social arrangements (Althusser, 1979; M. Apple, 2004; Aronowitz & Giroux, 1985, 1993; Bowles & Gintis, 1976; Willis, 1981). Under current neoliberal approaches, the purpose of education is unapologetically reduced to its economic aspect and treated as an economic policy (I. Martin, 2001)p. 4-5). It is then not surprising that leaders traditionally allied with the goals of the U.S. conflate education and economic policy in a similar way. Martin quotes Tony Blair, Prime Minister of England from 1996-2007, declaring that "education is the best economic policy we have" (ibid., p.5).

Because the present study was performed in a predominantly Latino school, and due to the increasing levels of the U.S. Latino population, it is relevant to illustrate how education can be economic policy as it relates to Latino populations. A key rationale under this 'human capital approach' for U.S. Latinos is that income is directly proportional to educational attainment. Citing the U.S. Department of Labor, the interim national report for Hispanics (2002) reports that a college graduate earns $1 million more in income and benefits over a lifetime than a high school graduate. The same report cites Garcia (2001), who asserts that doubling the rate of Hispanic college graduates by the year 2010 would produce additional tax revenue of $13 billion through reduced public spending and increased tax contributions.

Following the rationale present in the familiar report "A Nation at Risk" (referenced above and to be referenced in more detail later), this report on Hispanics warns that if employment statistics do not change, the economic consequences of an uneducated work force will hurt the economy of the United States. The fact that

Hispanics are not maximizing their income potential leads to lost tax revenues, lower rates of consumer spending, reduced per capita savings and increased social costs (p.10). Under a human capital philosophy, this may help explain what Blair means by saying that education is an economic policy.

Thus, under the Neoliberal reasoning the ideology of globalization becomes one in which people, ideas, goods, and services are reduced to the economic value they represent (Levin, 2001, p. 64). Following this clear economic determinist logic, the purpose behind eliminating or reducing state spending in public schools is to make them "productive." Through the Neoliberal lens, however, this idea considers production more in economic terms and less in the "social terms" that Dewey once envisioned. Thus, by moving the schools' main focus from producing socially responsive human beings to producing profits, neoliberals indeed seek to fundamentally change the purpose of education.

The shift to profitability demands tight control over what is taught at schools (curricular control and standardization), and control over teachers' time and work. Furthermore, accountability systems (i.e., test scores) separate good schools from bad schools, allowing for "wise investment" of funds into more productive institutions. This means that while "good schools" keep receiving state support (in addition to private support), "bad schools" receive less and less of the support they need to provide students with services and infrastructure that enable better scores. Within this model, and with the "invisible and just hand of the market" regulating education, "good schools" will be able to subsist while "bad schools" will disappear.

The instrumental rationality delineated by the 'Nation at Risk' Report, and by the neoliberal philosophy that produced it, was not received without resistance. Criticalists, already referenced above, took upon themselves to provide a counternarrative to dominants paradigms {i.e., Giroux, 1996 #58}. Although useful in insight and volume, I concur with some authors (reviewed later) that such a critique has been effectively contained and even colonized by neoliberal circles. This 'epistemological trap' will be addressed in detail later; this next section focuses on the importance of recognizing the complex and changing terrain in which symbolic constructions of value affecting notions of literacy take place.

Dismissing Structural Inequity: The Language of Neoliberalism

Structural inequity touches many aspects of the citizens of the world. One of the manifestations of this is seen clearly in the widening gap between rich and the poor. In the United States for example, 1% of the population owns more than another 80% of people do (Collins, Felice, et al 2000). These abysmal disparities between rich and poor are not only the rule in terms of ownership, they are also so in terms of cultural capital[7] (Bourdieu and Thompson ix,). A valued and determining cultural capital in the current 'knowledge-based society' that defines the capacity to perform in school in culturally acceptable ways is access to language. Yet, historically schools have been unsuccessful in bringing students of diverse backgrounds (overlapping with so-called 'at-risk students'[8]) to the same levels of literacy achievement as their mainstream counterparts (Au & Raphael, 2000; A. Luke, 1998). The work of Ruqaiya Hasan is particularly important, as

her writings explore in detail social aspects of language in education including class privilege on the basis of more ready access to language (Hasan & Webster, 2005).

Literally hundreds of studies have statistically linked low income with a variety of poor outcomes for children, from low birth weight and poor nutrition in infancy to increased chances of academic failure, emotional distress, and unwed childbirth in adolescence (Brooks-Gunn & Duncan, 1997; Pagani, Boulerice, & Tremblay, 1997; Willis, 1981). Time and again, parental economic assets predict children's adult attainments. In plain words: poverty matters a lot! (Corcoran, 1995). An April 2006 study reveals statistically significant data establishing the existence of a racial mobility gap in which black and Latino children have lower expected levels of upward mobility from any given level of parental income than that of any white children (Hertz, 2006). Yet, approaches that look at these disparities in the field of education and use any instance of 'class analyses' {for example Bowles, 1976 #332} are often quickly discounted, or deemed as determinist. I argue that this is rightly so in many cases, and therefore treat class analysis only as an entry point for studying the production and maintenance of capitalism's unequal social arrangements on racial, linguistic, and social class grounds. The point is that children who live in extreme poverty, who have lived below the poverty line for prolonged amounts of time, appear, all other things being equal, to suffer the worst outcomes (Duncan & Brooks-Gunn, 1997). Taken together, these disparities in terms of race, language access, and class status are key reasons for the current academic achievement gap in United States.

Despite this evidence, local and national policy currents have effectively shifted the blame to educators and schools. Subscribing to a 'no excuses' philosophy, they are

quick to claim that school policies and quality cause the achievement gap. This rationale holds that children's poverty must not be a bar to high achievement because there are examples of effective schools with high proportions of minority and low-income students who achieve at typical middle-class levels (Carter, 2001). However, the fact that we may all know low-income children who achieve at middle-class levels does not make this the rule[9].

A less radical view acknowledges the determinant role of individual, family-level and school level indicators associated with school failure and dropout (Stringfield & Land, 2002). Exploring different conditions of risk at the levels specified above, the authors of the introductory chapter of the Stringfield and Land book claim to be "broadening and deepening our understanding of the causes of academic failure and school dropout," and believe that this approach will "likely will contribute to our ability to develop effective remedies." This is so, they continue, because "No school program has the power to change a child's socioeconomic status, family structure, or the color of his or her skin." Land and Legters locate the 'remedies' they talk about in educators and their ability "to create leaning environments that provide all students with the knowledge and skills they need to succeed in our rapidly changing economy and society" (Land & Legters, 2002 p. 4). Although less radical than the 'no excuses' position, this approach fails to address structural inequity and adheres to a reformist strategy that will leave inequitable structures of power producing the conditions of risk they rightly identified intact and unchallenged.

Lemke 1995 sheds light into the persistent trend of discounting structural issues and instead focusing on issues that can be 'seen' and 'affected' by experimental research:

> From a political perspective, conservatives and technocrats alike find it not in their interest to contemplate the extremely large capital expenditures, or the radical transformations of class relationships, necessary to change the effects of socioeconomic status or eliminate poverty. It is in their interests to say that there is a cheaper way, and to give great emphasis to 'research findings' that support this position, and none to those that might discredit it. (Lemke p. 69).

Epistemological Trap: Determinism in Criticalists

Whereas the literature on globalization as related to education focuses heavily on economic or political processes, a certain group of scholars whom I will call 'criticalists' (who espouse a cultural Neo-Marxist paradigm) exalt the contextual nature of experience; that is, the interrelatedness of these economic and political processes in culture. Specifically, "they study 'the cultural' in order to capture the unexpected social creations resulting from the global impact of neoliberal ideology and local policies of nation-states" {Kerney as cited in Wells, 1998 #144 p. 338; Wells, 1998 #144}. Some Neo-Marxists, subscribing to a structural logic, are especially critical of social institutions, including schools, because they represent an everyday example of ideological hegemony reproduction. Until very recently though, schools and instruction were regarded as 'neutral and beneficial' sites for socialization of students. However, the increasing inequalities and power imbalances are now so visible that many scholars challenge this 'neutrality' of schools (Paulo Freire, 1970; P Freire & Macedo, 1987; Giroux, 1988; Pennycook, 1994; Shor & Pari, 1999; Street, 2001). According to Giroux, movements challenging the supposed neutrality of schools assumption were just marginal. In his view, two events marked the beginning of a serious analysis tied to theories of social reproduction (Giroux, 1992).

The first of these episodes was Bowles and Gintis "*Schooling in America: Educational Reform and the contradiction of Economic Life*"(Bowles & Gintis, 1976). In

response to this book, many other works by radical theorists were brought to light. Reagan and Allan Bloom's overt declaration of schools as key sites for social reproduction and preservation of Western civilization prompted critical theorists such as Giroux to identify the dominant ideological interests responsible for oppression in schools, and to ask how these interests function and are constructed (Giroux, 1992).

Other Neo-Marxists reject the structuralist "Jihad vs. McWorld" view that some reproduction theories advocate. Perhaps influenced by post-colonial studies viewing globalization and imperialism as transcultural, these theorists rely on radical humanist ideals, pointing to the contradictions and emancipatory potential of localized social movements and the struggles of marginalized people for greater agency from oppressive discourses (Michael Apple, 2000; Canagarajah, 1993, 1999 a; Lin, 1999).

Even when operating from reproductive or resistance theories, criticalists believe that by prioritizing the cultural domains in which economic and political arenas are negotiated, they can challenge the neoliberal reliance on economics, including the latter's one-sided vision of globalization as advantageous and reliance on the market as the sole, neutral, and fair "arbiter of social worthiness" (Apple 2000; Pannu 1996).

Using Marxist ideas, many authors who rely especially on critical theory (Giroux, Freire, Shor, Canagarajah, McLaren) have elsewhere unmasked the mainstream's intention to use education as a site for reproducing the existing relations of production. Although relevant and important, the criticalists' project fails to challenge the relations that produce such unequal outcomes because it operates with the very tools reified by the bourgeois theory (Popkewitz, 2000). Similarly, and moving beyond the 'stuck point' in progressive cultural politics, some researchers advocate the use of post-structural

perspectives including some form of discourse analysis, and attempt to deconstruct dominant 'hypnotic mantras' (McKenna & Graham, 2000) and traditional "binarying" discourses (Carlson, 2006).

I previously made the point that different societal sectors traditionally view education in general as the "key site" for economic development, reproducing their ideological agendas. Mainstream theoreticians and Marxists alike have coincided in this claim. While both are right in pointing to education as a key site for ideological struggle, both sides push for their own agendas as the "appropriate ones" and thus try to impose their ideology onto each other without recognizing the danger in their positions. I argue that this danger resides in the fact that although both sides operate from different value systems, they share the myopia of determinism.

Mainstream thinkers, as already described, operate from a neoliberal ideology, stressing the economic rationale. Certain Marxists stress the cultural as encompassing other realms (economic and political), and thus reproduce the deterministic assumptions of the traditional Marxist base/superstructure analysis. Other Marxists stay hypnotized by the powerful historical traces of economic determinism and fall into circular arguments using determinist logic; this in turn falls into criticizing mainstream logic on the discursive grounds provided by such logic and thus assume neoliberal ideological positions entrenched in the very concepts used for their critique.

Examining this issue, Aoki (1994) contends that in their quest to contest mainstream ideologies around education, Marxists have fallen into determinisms of the humanist and structural sort. He defines structuralism as an approach to social analysis essentializing relationship configurations in explaining presumably cause-and-effect

relationships among the objects of analysis. Humanism refers to an alternative approach to social theory essentializing human (usually individual) agency and/or subjectivity in its explanations, which also work under cause-effect logic. Aoki contends for example that the literature about Marxist approaches to education has traditionally positioned Althusser, Bowles and Gintis on the structural side, and Dewey as a radical structuralist. However, as Aoki demonstrates, these clear-cut characterizations are overt exaggerations since a combination of structural and humanist ideas theorized under both essentialist and antiessentialist epistemologies are all present in the work of these theorists.

What is not an exaggeration or a misrepresentation is the harmful effect of 'balancing acts' between structuralism and humanism, such as the one proposed by Giroux and Aronowitz in "*Education Under Siege,*" These provide perfect ammunition for some critics of Marxism, such as Kenneth Strike (1989), who interpret the humanization of the Marxian analysis of education as "Marxism general appropriation of liberalism's humanist entry point concepts and, therefore, as a concession that Marxian theory cannot generate any distinctive insights" {cited in Aoki, 1994 #173}.

Thus, although Marxist analyses are still produced and shed light on many important issues, they are trapped under some of the essentialisms already described, favoring structuralist, humanist or the economic determinist ideas of classical Marxism that when applied to education reflect a quasi-Parsonian image of social reality, one in which the educational system functions to reproduce the base economic structure (Walker, 2003). It is thus imperative for Marxism to return to the uniqueness of its contribution in terms of Marx's original idea of class, as advanced by Resnick and

Wolff (1987) and used in this study: the flow of surplus value from the worker to the capitalist. At a more specific level, I argue that under the hegemonic circumstances of the economic determinism of neoliberal ideology, Marxist rhetoric of this kind is neutralized. That is, under the discourse of economic determinism, criticalists have been set up to attack neoliberal politics on the very discursive grounds produced by neoliberalism. This point will be expanded upon later.

Ultimately, both sides may well appear antagonistic to one another on the surface, but at the epistemological level they both suffer from determinism. Thus, critical theorists have unsuccessfully deconstructed the commodification of education by falling into 'balancing acts,' essentializing structural or humanist perspectives, or replacing economic determinism with cultural determinism.

One of the most critical issues causing deviation from radical critique is how criticalists reinsert outdated essentialist base/superstructure constructions by stating that economic activity is embedded within a culturally constructed context, and thus it is *dependent* upon it. Such an oversight has no justification in Marxist approaches, especially if we consider its long history and profound effect. This is why I have devoted discussion of these issues in this review of literature. The reinsertion of the old base/superstructure construction is accomplished here by simply shifting from an economic determinist position, explained in detail above, into a cultural determinist position. This kind of discussion trivializes and prevents us from attending to more pressing and profound issues dealing with the role of education in the naturalization and legitimization of the capitalist exploitative organization of production and how this is done.

In the end, it is not a matter of presenting dogmatic truths to others in the hope that they will be convincing enough that they are adopted. It entails going beyond and deconstructing received paradigms to construct anew. As Wolff (2004) contends, "Radical political activism needs to question the determinist epistemology of bourgeois hegemony just as much as it questions bourgeois social theory and bourgeois economics – or else it will continue to fail in its revolutionary goals however many reforms it can help to achieve."[10] The radical political activism of criticalists has been at best critical and at worse post-liberal, and has failed to engage in radical political activism that questions determinist epistemology. One of the ways in which this determinism could be minimized is by looking at social structures through different frames that allow for complexity and contradiction. In the following section, I recur to concepts of fast capitalism, new privatization, and knowledge based economy to explain changes in capitalism as it refers to education in general, and in the linguistic construction of literacy in particular.

New or Fast Capitalism and New Privatization

Within this fast-paced society of new or fast capitalism (Agger, 2004) simply talking about educational privatization may not be appropriate anymore. In fact, the new economy is no longer so new as worker involvement practices that were once faddish innovations are now standard practices (i.e., Total Quality Management). Further, the question of whether this "new work order" will leave behind the urban ghetto poor is really no longer a matter of speculation because it has already happened (Skilton-Sylvester, 2003). The work of Burch, and in specific the concept of *new educational*

privatization sheds important light on the current state of affairs pertaining to comprehensive school reform and "contractual regimes" instituted by the No Child Left Behind Law (Burch, 2006). Katrina E. Bulkley claims that in a contracting regime, private sector organizations are central to the district strategy for improvement, and contracts are used to address core functions of public education such as school management, professional development, leadership development, and curriculum. In her research of regime politics in Philadelphia public education, Bulkley characterizes the current regime in the city's schools under stake takeover as a "contractual regime" (Bulkley, 2007). This same label seems to apply to the focal Massachusetts district that was the focus in the present research as evidenced by its contracting activity and its heavily reliance on Title I funding.

The framework of new educational privatization should be conceived within the special configurations of the current capitalist system and it is needed at this time because it specifically refers to the growing market for products and services not just driven by market logic, but driven by one that is specifically embedded by current federal and local accountability mandates. In fact, specific actors in this new privatization scheme include companies focusing on test development and preparation, companies focusing on data management analysis, firms providing remedial services, and those focusing on content area specific programming (Burch). These companies are specific actors in this context partly because the new educational privatization is being encouraged by an expanded federal role in educational policy. In addition, and guided by the principles of "the new work order" (Gee et al), and new or fast capitalism (Agger, 2004; see Gebhard, 2004 as it applies to school reform), they produce customized

knowledge-based services for the above mentioned niche educational markets that produce engineered communities of practice that are built through linguistic and other semiotic systems {Gebhard, 2004 #694}. In fact, a common practice of the above companies is to explicitly reference the No Child Left Behind in their materials and web-pages and to refer to a "boost" in test scores as a direct result of the implementation of specific niche products (i.e., America's Choice Ramp-Up Literacy). The impetus for the creation and maintenance of these engineered communities of practice (Gebhard, 2004) can be traced directly to new privatization schemes that find in the NCLB act in general and comprehensive school reform in particular the perfect framework to thrive and to create a powerful ideological imprint in the current emergent form of political economy.

Knowledge-Based Society: An Emergent Form of Political Economy

In the historic time I have been referring to, the emerging and dominant form of political economy is facilitated and propagated by information and communication technologies (P. Graham, 1999). This new form of political economy takes place within what is referred to as a 'globalized knowledge economy,' in which the basic commodities are thought and language. That is to say, within this new era of unmitigated social, economic, and technological progress, thought and language become commodities with more or less value according to the source of their production. A dynamic system such as language is a social system that is open. Meaning is thus constructed in interaction and in relation with other meanings. Value is assigned differently to different meanings, and thus meaning becomes stratified (M. A. K. Halliday & Martin, 1993). Stratified meanings

produced within the knowledge economy are possible due to a confluence of historically specific social and technological phenomena.

Commodities are usually thought out as material commodities that embody exchange-value because they are socially useful. Examples of these are corn and bananas. Thought and language are different kinds of commodities in the sense that their social metabolism (Marx, 1970) is intangible, abstract, and socio-cognitive. Furthermore, they differ in that their exchange-value is dependent upon the community of practice in which they are produced. More significantly, thought and language have the ability to self-sustain and self-promote themselves and thus increase their value. That is, their non-material form makes them impossible to be consumed in the same way as corn and bananas are. Rather, their 'consumption' transforms them in a different way. In fact, this consumption serves not only the purpose of propagation into the initial consumer, but of potential propagation into others. This propagation of meanings (that in turn projects the propagation of social perceptions and power) is done through language. This is why a discursive approach is necessary to denaturalize and make visible the dogmas, assumptions, and discursive modus operandis of the emergent knowledge-based form of political economy in general and the discursive construction of literacy in particular.

The knowledge economy operates by commodifying ideas, states, and even characteristics, including birth, death, sex, identity and opinion (Wallerstein 2003). Although Marx focused much more on material commodities and labor rather than on mental production, he nevertheless notes the quasi-religious relationship between mental production and religious artifacts. Quoting Marx & Engels 1967, Graham contends that:

> In the knowledge economy, the products of the human brain appear as autonomous figures endowed with a life of their own, which enter into

> relations both with each other and with the human race. So it is the world of commodities….I call this the fetishism which attaches itself to the products of labour as soon as they are produced as commodities, and is therefore inseparable from the production of commodities (P. Graham, 1999; Lukâacs, 1971; Marx & Engels, 1967).

By conflating cognition, language, and political economy, the knowledge economy allows the socio-cognitive, sociolinguistic creations of expert dialects to operate as reified abstractions that can be appropriated, bought, deployed, and sold within the proprietary domains of the knowledge economy's infrastructure. The social propagation of thought, value, and power, is ultimately packaged and sold in language. In this sense, 'language is practical consciousness' (Marx & Engels, 1846/1972; Voloshinov, Matejka, & Titunik, 1973).

As a social practice, literacy is transmitted primarily through language, but language is not a transparent vehicle of communication. Language constructs relationships and brings the often competing social and cultural ideologies to bear on an event, group, or other phenomenon (D. Bloome, 2005). Attention to language is thus especially important in the new 'knowledge society' era, in which literacy itself has become a central ingredient in current capitalist economic productivity paradigms. A conception of education as happening only in educational institutions, and an understanding of its goals in terms of, for example, meeting higher literacy achievement standards, only tells part of the story. Another important part is the motivation behind privileging certain views over others, and how these privileging practices are actually produced, distributed and instantiated in language.

The Discursive Construction of Literacy in the Knowledge Based Society

Under the framework illustrated, literacy is a social practice constrained and enabled by the changing economics and politics of society in general and schooling and surrounding communities in particular (A. Luke, 1998). One of the main contentions in this literature review is that to begin understanding a complex cultural endeavor such as education, we need to understand the social and historical context giving rise to it, including especially the role of economic relations, economic change, and how they are 'packaged' in language. The dominant paradigms of capitalist accumulation (i.e. neoclassical economics) emphasize competition and monopoly in service of an inherent search for surplus labor, constituting what Marx identified as a major and yet invisible violence of capitalism: the flow of surplus value from the worker to the capitalist (Gibson-Graham, Resnick, & Wolff, 2001).

The Struggle Over Literacy

Under these conditions, 'Literacy' becomes a moving-target concept that has caused considerable debate involving many nations. Human capital is now regarded as more valuable than traditional assets such as land or money; in the age of the 'knowledge society' literacy has become a hot commodity (P. Graham, 1999). Through their association with influential transnational organizations such as the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) and the World Bank, the United States and the United Kingdom[11] have substantively shaped the debate towards their favored view of literacy. This has meant that educational policies now have prominent influence from free market and human capital concepts (mimicking the politics on the U.S. and

Britain and the same favored approach of the already mentioned transnational organizations).

Currently, under neoliberal capitalism, a 'common sense' (Gramsci 1971) view of education promoted by these agencies dominates public debate, especially in reference to educating the poor. This 'common sense' idea is summarized in the following quote from a recent World Bank publication:

> some methods may use time and resources more efficiently than others, particularly when teaching the poor. The choice of certain methods can have large financial consequences for governments. This is why student outcomes should drive selection rather than philosophy or educational theories. (Abadzi, 2006 p. 73)

The important signifiers for this kind of approach are efficiency, methods, financial consequences, and outcomes. These signifiers clearly correspond to a neoliberal market-based view of education in which outcomes and competition are foregrounded and education philosophy and educational theories are backgrounded. Under this rationale, education is guided by increased school accountability, student testing procedures, and the belief that time could be better spent on academics. Here education becomes an investment, and stops being a right. Multiple social consequences arise from this. For teachers, some of the more damaging implications include the increased demands on their work in the knowledge-based economy (Hargreaves, 1994, 2003); the deprofessionalization (Giroux, 1988), erosion of public respect for (Farber & Wechsler, 1991), and autonomy of their work (Ingersoll, 2003); and teacher stress, dropout, and burnout (Farber, 1991; Kamler & Comber, 2005).

For students, even fundamental and 'good sense,' as opposed to 'common sense,' values (Gramsci 1971) are at risk. To illustrate this idea, recently a number of educators

(Ohanian, 2002; Skrupskelis, 2000; Todorovich, Stopa, & Moore, 2002) and education agencies (The National Association of Early Childhood Specialists; the Middle and Secondary School Physical Education Council) have expressed profound concern about the increasing trend in United States schools of reducing, deleting, or considering deleting recess. In the name of standards, closing the achievement gap, and covering curriculum that would equip students with the skills needed for the 'global economy,' 40% of the nation's 16,000 school districts are engaged in some form of recess modification (Specialists).

Ohanian reports that some school districts have even deliberately built elementary schools with no playground. A 1998 front-page story in the New York Times reported that a kindergartner in Atlanta, Toya Gray, confided to the reporter that she'd like to "sit on the grass and look for ladybugs." The Atlanta superintendent of schools at the time, Benjamin O. Canada, explained the policy: "*We are intent on improving academic performance. You don't do that by having kids hanging on the monkey bars.*" This kind of reasoning only 'makes sense' within a school as investment frame; more importantly, it has its origins in a specific social construction of reality that does not necessarily reflect the view of this administrator alone. In fact, this kind of rationality is highly powerful and influential, and directly traceable to specific bodies of texts (which will be referenced later). For now, I will concentrate on how this kind of reasoning is counterproductive for education in general and students specifically.

Writing about the importance of unstructured time with peers for the cognitive, physical, and social development in children, Todorovich, Stopa, and Moore cite Skrupskelis:

> Recess is the right of every child. Article 31 of the United Nations Convention on Children's Rights states that every child has the right to leisure time. Taking away recess, whether as a disciplinary measure or abolishing it in the name of work, infringes on that right. (Skrupskelis, 2000).

If we are to somehow use 'language of investment' in describing education, then we would say that education as a right entails paying attention to inputs as much as outputs. This is why Abadzi's approach, which guides methodological decisions based on students' outcomes without paying attention to educational philosophy or theories, is misguided and threatens students' rights (albeit unintentionally) as above with the recess case. This is especially true if we consider Abadzi's own philosophy on how children learn and how they develop language.

In 'Efficient Learning for the Poor,' Abadzi contends that although curricula in early childhood education programs is often based on developmental concepts, it is not clear how they are implemented. She contends that poor children "…are often observed playing with educational toys and interacting among themselves, but these activities may not be what the poor need" (p.18). She continues: "Children learn language interactively, which means that an adult must interact with them individually rather than within a group." Of the many points that can be taken from this, I stress two.

First, Abadzi claims to be operating from the '*Frontiers of Cognitive Neuroscience'* (as the subtitle of her book suggests). Considerable research shows the important role of both structured and unstructured interaction in learning and development. The mention of just two influential scholars, Piaget and Vygotsky,

and the wealth of research they have inspired both in first language and second language acquisition should suffice. Relevant to the role of interaction is the Piagetian stage of reciprocity and cooperation, in which children learn to consider others' views and, as a result, become more self-conscious (Piaget, 1970).

Willett's ethnographic study with first graders clearly highlights peer talk and its effect on constructing second language identity. Willett studied the ways in which learning identities were constructed in speaking positions and how these identities supported or constrained second language learning opportunities (Willett, 1995). As illustrated by Willett, Vygotsky's tradition is especially relevant, as, in his sociocultural perspective, talk is not just a mirror on a child's inner thought process but a dynamic force that shapes and constructs thinking (including identity). A central notion in Vygotsky's apprenticeship mode is the concept of the "Zone of Proximal Development," in which a 'more able peer' can push a learner into solving a problem independently. This problem-solving can be 'under adult guidance or in collaboration with *more able peers*" {Vygotsky, 1978 #582, p. 86; author's emphasis}. Abadzi is certainly entitled to her position, but she should not disregard some of the most significant research on the issue she discusses.

I do not necessarily consider Abadzi's oversight as unintentional. Taking into consideration other relevant intertexts (Lemke, 1995) and the context of neoliberal globalization, I would argue that she is in fact trying to build an argument tied to neoliberal and human capital purposes. As a World Bank leader, she has championed the concept of '*loss and cost of instructional time in schools*'

and '*Instructional time wastage.*' This argument holds that educational services for the poor often fall short of expectations because "only a fraction of the intended instructional time is used for learning tasks." Within the current accountability frame from which transnational agencies operate, recess stops being a right and becomes a target for elimination in the belief that time could be better spent on academics, and that such extra time devoted to academic tasks is precisely what the poor need. The power and reach of agencies such as the World Bank therefore must not be underestimated; these ideas, produced and distributed in multiple formats (books, conferences, professional development, media), ultimately naturalize a specific 'common sense' that more often than not serves the interests of those promoting specific agendas even at the expense of children's rights.

Literacy is thus a sociopolitical activity. As such, it involves a relationship with historical factors (such as U.S. power relations) and contextual factors (such the meanings of as race, gender, and social class). In the U.S., particular literacy perspectives respond to certain interests which in turn are associated with specific 'Literacy Sponsors' (Brant, 2003,) promoting specific slogans. Brant believes that over the course of the 20th century literacy was captured by the cause of private wealth, even though the number of 'literacy sponsors' decreased. In addition, those that remain are now linked to fewer sponsors who do not necessarily look out for the public well-being but rather their own profit margin. This particular point is made by a wealth of reading specialists (Dudley-Marlin & Paugh, 2005; Shannon & Edmondson, 2005; Strauss, 2005), who in the book

'Reading for Profit' (Heinemann 2005) look at the business behind mandated reading programs.

A particularly well-known dispute fought on different fronts (i.e., educational policy, research, classroom practice) has been over what it means to read effectively. In the U.S., reading has historically been dominated by certain 'slogans' which back up beliefs during certain periods of time. While the most recognized struggle is the Phonics vs. Whole language debate, these 'slogans' are nothing new[12]. Look and Say dominated in the 1940's, while in the 1950's the dominant slogan was Phonics First. The Language Experience, Reading for Meaning, and Whole Language approaches prominent in the 1960's were then challenged by Direct Instruction in the 1970's and early 1980's. Direct Instruction led to "Explicit and Systematic Teaching of Reading" by the mid-1980's and 90's. Currently, under the literacy provisions of the No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB), the slogan is Reading First.

Bearing all this in mind, literacy, as defined in this study, needs to acknowledge a process involving the analysis and critique of the relationships among texts and the sociocultural relationships they produce. This perspective on literacy is instrumental in perceiving literacy in a complex sociocultural context shaped by and shaping conditions. Thus analysis and critique are necessary components of any definition of literacy; as demonstrated above, different and often competing and changing social and cultural interests and priorities continuously reshape the set of cultural practices (texts and relationships) that form its basis.

Disputes over what it means to be literate have produced a specific language. In the 'crisis framework' that has been outlined, deficit labels abound, especially for those

who are different and/or represent minority groups (D Bloome, 1989; Comber & Kamler, 2004; L Delpit, 1988; L. Delpit, 1995; Rogers, 2003).

The Changing Rhetoric of Risk: From "A Nation at Risk" to "Students At-Risk"

In United States public schools, under increasing pressure from "English Only" policies and groups, academic literacy in languages other than English has been losing its 'symbolic capital,' its potential to count as a positive asset (Bourdieu & Thompson, 1991). In fact, some programs are put in place to eradicate the student's first language (Rossell & Baker, 1996), negatively affecting those non-native English speakers and the society that does not value them (Book Reference: Why Can't they Learn English).

Second language learners have historically been the object of many school reforms (Gebhard, 2000; Menken, 2005). The abolition of bilingual education in some states (such as California and Massachusetts) is a clear signal both of the declining value of the symbolic capital of non-mainstream languages and of how this phenomenon affects English Language Learners. Declining support for bilingual education is especially troublesome for novice English Language Learners. This trend continues despite research overwhelmingly demonstrating how high levels of literacy in the native language are excellent precursors to attaining English literacy, and showing that bilingual programs develop strong literacy skills in both native and target languages (Cummins, 2000; Cummins, Baker, & Hornberger, 2001; Cummins & Swain, 1986). In consequence, U.S. students whose first language is not English may be perceived as at-risk despite competency in their first language.

This single-focus view of language (Ruiz, 1988) is quite common and blames individuals on the basis of 'deficit.' This situation can only be corrected if recommendations from experimental research are followed {see Krashen for a criticism on the NRP report; Krashen, 2001 #531}. As such, deficit discourses are prevalent today in educational discourses of all levels and especially target children whose native language is not English, whose racial heritage is not white, and whose schools are located in low-socioeconomic status areas. By belonging to one or more of these categories, children are labeled 'at-risk' automatically.

The term 'at-risk' is increasingly used, especially within the last decade, to describe students whose learning is affected by school, societal or personal conditions (Manning & Baruth, 1995). These can include, but are not limited to, barriers such as poverty, racism, neglect and abuse (Friesen, Finney, & Krentz, 1999). The naturalization of this label is such that even avid advocates of these students (such as teachers who have reevaluated their views on assigning blame to victims) take it for granted as a term describing a specific population rather than one that positions young peoples in deficient ways {See Pransky, 2002 #585 for an example with ESL students; Pasco, 2003 #590}.

While student advocates recognize problems with the label "at risk," in that the term foregrounds a language of risk and deficit and not of potentiality, they nevertheless continue to use it either for lack of a better term (Friesen et al., 1999), or because it denotes a 'sense of urgency' needed for action (Manning & Baruth, 1995 p. 9). Some advocates have taken a more active role in the debate and have shifted the term to denote strengths rather than limitations (i.e., Swander and Lubeck), or have recontextualized it as students 'who are placed at risk' (Cummins, 1989). Swadener and Lubeck (1995) suggest

deconstructing the powerful metaphor of "at risk" by challenging the negative attitudes it produces; they suggest more appropriate descriptions including "at promise," "talented," and "gifted" (Swadener & Lubeck, 1995). Despite these efforts, terms such as "student at risk" or "at-risk students" are prevalent in the literature.

The use of these terms should not be taken lightly. Vadeboncoeur and Luke 2004 contend that historically psychological and linguistic researches have constructed youth as socially resistant and linguistically deficient (sitting in middle grounds between undeveloped child discourse and unmarked norm of adult discourse). These signifiers - representing a perpetual state of struggle against authority and discursive practices in need of maturation, development, and sophistication- are aggravated and find its galvanization in the discourse of "youth at risk" (Vadeboncoeur & Luke, 2004).

The sense of urgency denoted by this 'borderline discourse' is embedded in a climate of educational crisis prompting educators, administrators and policy makers to find the right intervention or reform while uncritically accepting the idea that "all children and adolescents are at risk at some time" (Manning & Baruth, 1995). This idea is not only simplistic, but lacks analytical value. Risk is an inherent part of everything we do (from riding a bike to reading a book) and it surely affects us all, not just children and adolescents. The use of simplistic symmetric oppositions (i.e., youth as immature, irresponsible, incomplete, at risk, versus adults as mature, responsible, complete, not at risk) echo the 'Manichean allegories of good and evil' so common in the current political environment in the U.S. (Graham & Luke, 2003).

We must be aware that such labels are not only ideological and historical constructions obscuring the potential of students, but more importantly that, in a

discursive twist difficult to exaggerate, our rhetoric changed from 'A Nation at Risk' to 'youth at risk' in little more than two decades. As risk is relocated in youth, blame and solution become a personal endeavor and structural inequities are backgrounded. As a result, youth and their families on the one hand, and teachers and school personnel on the other, may embark on reformist practices (either in school or in families) that do not challenge the status quo and thus leave exploitative structures in place. It is in this context that well-meaning teachers, subscribing to a philosophy of empowerment to the less favored, end up blaming the victim (Manning & Baruth, 1995 p. 135) and perpetuate common deficit discourses (Kamler & Comber, 2005).

Unequal distribution of discursive, material, and social resources creates categories of the included and the excluded, appropriate and not, at-risk and at-ease. Bernstein uses social class to explain the social basis of these contrasts:

> These contrasts are often ideologically positioned and receive different evaluations. One form becomes the means whereby a dominant group is said to impose itself upon a dominated group and functions to silence and exclude the voice of this group. The excluded voice is then transformed into a latent pedagogic voice of unrecognised potential. What I shall attempt here is to produce a language of description which produces greater differentiation within and between these forms, and explores the social basis of this differentiation" (Bernstein 1999, 157-173).

Bernstein attempts to produce this language of description by closely studying pedagogic discourse, a discourse recontextualized by a more capable peer so that it can be better understood by others. As demonstrated in detail in the next section, Bernstein differentiates between the Official Recontextualizing Field (ORF) and the Pedagogic Recontextualizing Field (PRF). These two fields represent the dominant group and the excluded voice mentioned in the above quote. While the dominating group representing the ORF usually has the ability and power to carry out the labeling, the excluded voice is

generally latent, so that the pedagogic voice of unrecognised potential is labeled at-risk. It is worth noting however that many times in the interactions of classrooms serving students at risk these traditional dynamics are resisted, transformed, and reversed. This is so because language as a dynamic open-choice system has meaning, potential, and carries the always-open possibility of disturbing 'official' codes of control. A discussion on the always-possible 'textual subversion' inherent in language-in-use (D. Bloome, 2005) will follow immediately after discussing the Official and Pedagogic recontextualizing fields theorized by Bernstein.

The Official Recontextualizing Field and the Pedagogic Recontextualizing Field

Bernstein recognized both linguistic form and social relations, and how these constructed differentiated styles and social positions: "Styles and positions are only sometimes side by side. More often, they are superimposed, stratified, some control others" (Hymes, 1995 p. 9). Put more simply, in Bernstein's theories class relations are fundamental to the regulation and distribution of power. Bernstein's insistence that any theory of language must play an important role in a theory of sociology brought him close to M.A.K Halliday and Ruqaiya Hasan. The latter scholars, who by the late 1950's and early 1960's were developing the basis of what would later be called Systemic Functional Linguistics, worked at the University of London where Bernstein was head of the Sociological Research Unit.

Central to Bernstein's theory and relevant for this study is the concept of the 'pedagogic device'. Bernstein describes the pedagogic device as a provider of the intrinsic grammar of pedagogical discourse—the ordering and disordering principles of

the pedagogizing of knowledge. The pedagogic device materializes symbolic control; therefore it is the object of struggle for possible domination as it attempts to shape and distribute forms of consciousness, identity and desire.[13] That is, the pedagogic device functions as the ensemble of rules or procedures via which knowledge is converted into pedagogical communication (classroom talk, curricula and online communication). These rules function through three interrelated rules that account for the privileging texts of school knowledge: distributive, recontextualizing, and evaluative rules. These rules are dependent upon the other and hierarchically arranged; the recontextualizing rules derive from the distributive ones and the evaluative derive from the recontextualizing rules.

Although dense, a brief explanation of these rules is a necessary background for the illustrations that given later. According to Bernstein, the distributive rules regulate the power relationships between social groups, produce specialized knowledge, consciousness and practice and distribute this knowledge *differentially* among social groups. They are then responsible for constituting different orientations to meaning or pedagogical identities. These rules are theorized as mediating the thinkable and the unthinkable, where control of the thinkable lies essentially but not exclusively in the upper reaches of educational system and is termed 'official knowledge.' Control of the thinkable is theorized as lying essentially in secondary and primary school systems. It is in this way that power relations distribute the thinkable and the unthinkable, differentiating groups made possible by distributive rules. This control over the thinkable is what has made possible a stark differentiation between private and public schools. NCLB is an act that operates in public schools *only*. With current tight budgets in most

school districts, public schools need the funding provided by NCLB, but they are also bound to comply with all regulations and norms provided in the law.

The second set of rules of the pedagogic device (which are the focus in this study) are recontextualizing rules. Recontextualizing rules constitute particular pedagogic discourses that rest on the distributive rules and create specialized forms of communication that the state is increasingly striving to control. Pedagogic discourse is defined by Bernstein as in direct relation to this recontextualizing principle: pedagogic discourse is a "recontextualizing principle which selectively appropriates, relocates, refocuses, and relates other discourses to constitute its own order and orderings' (Bernstein 1990 p. 184). Bernstein identifies two manifestations of this recontextualizing: an official recontextualizing field (ORF, official because it is the creation of the state), and a pedagogic recontextualizing field (PRF, pedagogic because it is the creation of those educating and transforming knowledge into pedagogic discourse). This recontextualizing feature has traditionally been associated with teacher's work, but according the Bernstein, the state is seeking to weaken the PRF through the ORF, and thus also weakening the relative autonomy enjoyed by teachers over construction of pedagogic discourse.

Recontextualizing rules regulate the formation of specific pedagogic discourse by selecting and creating specialized pedagogic discourse. These are rules for "delocating a discourse, relocating it, and refocusing" (Bernstein 1996, p. 47). Pedagogical discourse "embeds rules which create skills of one kind of another and rules regulating their relationship to each other, and rules which create social order. The discourse that creates skills is called instructional discourse while the discourse creating morality, order, and

relations of identity is termed 'regulative discourse' " (Bernstein 2000, p. 31-32). Through recontextualization, a discourse moves from its original site of production to another site, where it is altered as it is related to other discourses.

The last set of rules, the evaluative rules, constitute specific pedagogized practice and are concerned with recognizing what counts as valid acquisition of instructional and regulative texts. In this sense, the evaluative rules are pedagogical practice producing 'a ruler for consciousness' (Bernstein 1990, p. 43); they are associated with what counts as valid knowledge usually associated with the interests and values of those in power.

The Current Official Recontextualizing Field: No Child Left Behind and Reading First

The unapologetic conflated economic and educational interests advanced by the neoliberal project are thus more salient and explicit than ever. Harsher and more controlling measures have been slowly implemented since the A Nation at Risk report, given that almost two decades after the report the U.S. still lagged behind some of its competitors. It seemed that no matter what policy was in place, the classroom and its practices were far from being affected substantially by what policy would say and recommend.

The work of Tyack and Cuban was especially influential in conveying that 'reform was impossible,' as schools change reforms as much or more than reforms change schools, and as practitioners have regularly thought that "the best way to live with new mandates from distant legislators and administrative agencies is to adapt innovations to local circumstance, or comply in minimal ways, or sabotage unwanted reforms" (D. B. Tyack & Cuban, 1995, p. 61).

This alerted policy makers that they could no longer create policies and hope for implementation. Again and within a human capital framework, education is in crisis because schools have been highly unproductive and ineffective in returning investments. The favorable political and reform climate set forth by 'A Nation at Risk' and advanced by the 'excellence movement' ultimately seeks to direct and control what goes on in classrooms. This entails a push for a core curriculum including traditional academic disciplines teaching a common 'cultural language' based on "Back to Basics": four year of English, three years each of mathematics, history, science, and half a year of computer science.

What is New Under the No Child Left Behind Act

Learning from previous mistakes, these reformers closed loopholes to 'absolutely make sure' that districts receiving federal funds but not following the letter of the law were punished and those following the law and making progress rewarded. Appealing to the champion slogan of the crisis and risk popularized by the A Nation at Risk Report , the No Child Left Behind act proclaims itself as "a landmark in education reform designed to improve student achievement and change the culture of America's schools" (O. o. E. a. S. E. US Department of Education, 2002).

> Since the *Nation at Risk* report was issued nearly 20 years ago, there has been a vigorous national debate over how to improve our nation's schools and our children's achievement…Out of these years of debate, a general consensus has emerged that schools and districts work best when they have greater control and flexibility, when scientifically proven teaching methods are employed, and when schools are held accountable for results. These are the guiding ideas behind the NCLB Act.

The consensus referred to here is hard to demonstrate; many voices, particularly those writing from a neo-Marxist angle, have criticized these measures, albeit imperceptibly in comparison with their counterparts. What cannot be denied is the overwhelming volume of writing and the crushing influence of the so-called 'excellence movement" and its "crusade for educational excellence" during the 1980's and 90's galvanized by the publication of the A Nation at Risk report.

The impact of 'A Nation at Risk' can hardly be exaggerated; it was further strengthened by the subsequent release of numerous national reports on education sharing the basic tenets of this account, speeches by representatives of this view, Reagan's overwhelming attention to the 'education issue' during his reelection campaign in 1984, heightened media attention to educational issues, and the infiltration of core tenets of the 'excellence movement' into popular culture. This last issue refers to the documentary film version of the report for the Advancement of Teaching produced by the Carnegie Foundation, which not only sold hundreds of copies but was nominated for an academy award . {See Toch, 1991 #570, for a wealth of examples of the influence of the report}.

The explicit aim to change the culture of American schools espoused in the act is represented by the its reliance on "mandates and high stakes accountability schemes backed up by punishments and rewards" (Falk 2006). This scheme of punishments and rewards, called a "travesty and a betrayal of our (*American*) historic commitments (Rothstein & Jacobsen, 2006), is traceable to a historical failure of policy to reach the classroom in the substantive way neoliberals envisioned. Because of the centrality of reading to the No Child Left Behind (NCLB) act, and the particular relevance of reading to this study, I review some of the most important tenets of the Reading First provisions

of the law and their role in shifting classroom culture, without losing perspective on the overall purpose of the NCLB act.

Reading First and Targeted Intervention Programs

As can be deduced from the name 'Reading First,' reading received special emphasis under NCLB. According to proponents of the law, this reflects National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) findings from 2000 showing that less than one-third (29%) of all fourth-grade students performed at or above the proficient level in reading. The percentage reaching proficiency was even lower for low-income students (13%), African-Americans (10%), and Hispanics (13%) (NCLB Desktop Reference p. 1).

According to "*No Child Left Behind: A Desktop Reference,*" the NCLB act embodies four key principles: stronger accountability for results; greater flexibility for states, school districts and schools in the use of federal funds; more choices for parents of children from disadvantaged backgrounds; and an emphasis on demonstrably effective teaching methods. Of these principles, I will focus on 'what works,' specifically in reference to reading instruction. This is crucial to examine, as under tight conditions of accountability 'what works' mediates what becomes possible or not, and what becomes 'thinkable and unthinkable' in the classroom (B Bernstein, 1990). This idea will be expanded on in the next section.

According to the "Desktop Reference" and the National Reading Panel Report (NPRR), special emphasis is put on signaling educational programs and practices "clearly demonstrated to be effective through rigorous scientific research." Thus, federal funding is targeted to support programs and teaching methods that improve student learning and

achievement, and have scientifically demonstrated such improvement through research. Under the new Reading First program, NCLB supports scientifically based reading instruction programs in the early grades.

With the implementation of sanctions particular to the NCLB, the nature of the reading debate changed dramatically: what used to be a matter of struggle between different approaches is now sanctioned by law. In other words, the NCLB act provides legal cover allowing federal education programs to recommend certain approaches over others. This is despite the historical disqualification of federal education programs to recommend, specify, or mandate the use of particular curricular content, methods or materials. This 'legal cover' is given by appealing to the discursive use of 'science' and 'scientific based research' used and abused to favor specific approaches and publishers. This idea will be expanded by reference to the Inspector General report on Title I. With the Reading First Provision of the NCLB act, the effort is focused on tightly controlling pedagogical practices and curricula by appealing to "Scientific Based Research."

> Moreover, Reading First differs from earlier initiatives by establishing clear, specific expectations for what can and should happen for all students. Reading First specifies that teachers' classroom instructional decisions must be informed by scientifically based reading research" {cited in Allington, 2002 #472 p. 247}.

In essence, only sound and effective approaches or 'Scientifically Based Reading Research,' meaning 'reliable, replicable research' are accepted. What has traditionally been decided by the teacher is now tightly prescribed by law.

As explained before, the explicit involvement of the federal government in supporting programs and teaching methods is unprecedented in the history of literacy reform in the United States. NCLB, as the current Official Recontextualizing Field (ORF),

provides 'legal cover' for government agencies to assign funds to certain programs and materials complying with the requisite 'scientific research.' The label 'scientific research' gives private companies (many already working with governmental agencies) the chance to amass great sums of public moneys. As a result, profit and conflict of interests have become worrisome issues that may define what counts as literacy.

As confirmed by a recent report on irregularities with Title I allocation of public money, the Inspector General found clear cases of favoritism and conflicts of interest, as states face pressure to approve materials from a handful of preferred publishers; others were excluded from participating in the Reading First program and therefore tapping into those sources of funding. Chris Dougherty, then-director of Reading First, was quoted extensively; his emails made no effort to hide bias. Advising his staff to reject the application of one publisher, he wrote: "They are trying to crash our party and we need to beat the [expletive deleted] out of them in front of all the other would-be party crashers who are standing on the front lawn waiting to see how we welcome these dirtbags." (Office of Inspector General, 2006; Shannon & Edmondson, 2005).

'Scientifically proven' and 'Aligned with NCLB' are now more than buzz words in the literacy jargon: they have become law. Bernstein's assessment holds true for contemporary public educational reform and practice in the US; in his terms, the Current Official Recontextualizing Field (ORF) is vigorously trying to control what happens in the classroom and take over the Pedagogic Recontextualizing Field (PRF).

The Local Pedagogic Recontextualizing Field (PRF): Disturbance of Codes of Control and The Pedagogic Device

The pedagogic device is key in analyzing education; for Bernstein, the primary social unit of the thesis is not an individual but a relationship: a pedagogic relation, formal or informal (Bernstein 2000 p 189). This social unit based on relationships with decentering of the subject Atkinson recognizes as a recurrent feature of Bernstein's work, along with views shared by the French structuralists movement such as Foucault, Althusser, Lacan, Derrida and others (Atkinson 1985, p.180). According to Atkinson, Bernstein "reverses the polarity of a subject-based discipline" in the sense that codes constitute the person, not vice versa; discourse positions the subject. However, Bernstein goes beyond a simple correspondence principle (Bowles and Gintis 1976; see Atkinson 1985 p. 167) and mechanical determinism. In his writing, he is careful to avoid such 'all or nothing' positions and favors a dialectical and complex interplay between institutional and subjective factors.

Bernstein considers two reasons, one internal and another external, why the pedagogic device is not deterministic—that is, never within the control of the state. The internal reason refers to how the device works to control the unthinkable, yet always makes possible the unthinkable as well. The external refers to the 'distribution of power which speaks through the device creates potential sites of challenge and opposition (Bernstein 1996:52). This same characteristic of non-determinacy is the one that Wolff underscores from Althusser's theorization of the ISA, and that critics failed to recognize (Wolff, 2003).

Along the same lines, and following the work of Laclau and Mouffe (1985), Fairclough contends that social interaction is a constant act of articulation and

disarticulation. The potential and always possible 'textual subversion' that challenges prior equivalences and differences is characteristic of social interaction (Norman Fairclough, 2004). Bernstein understood the fluidity and non-determinist aspect of his theory and instead acknowledges that the teacher and the pedagogic device used plays a significant role in shaping the consciousness of pupils not always attuned with mainstream values. This is not to say that purely structural arguments giving no role to the individual do not exist. In fact, they are all too common. Apple himself has criticized Bernstein work be as 'rather too structuralist at times,' indicating that it is difficult to see 'real people act[ing], nor do you see real social movements in formation and action, nor do you see the processes and results of social transformations' (M. Apple, 2004).

My study focuses on a real classroom, studies real interactions, and examines them as the result of complex overdeterminants pertaining to complexities at the micro and macro levels. In this way, the study tries to escape the purely structuralist by bringing to the fore a pedagogic relation co-constructed discursively by actors in the classroom in question. In Bernstein's theory, the aforementioned dynamic interplay between institutional and subjective factors to show the dynamism and indeterminacy of the pedagogic device is done at times by using useful metaphorical rhetorical concepts such as 'reservoir' (total sets and its potential of the community as a whole) and 'repertoire' (set of strategies and analogous potential possessed by any one individual). In this study, the concepts of reservoir and repertoire exemplify the reappearance of the social in the individual. As such, reservoir and repertoire are adapted and narrowed to issues in pedagogy. This is done in the methodology section and will be discussed in the context of the classroom.

Bernstein argues that in a development in either the reservoir or repertoire, such an expansion would depend on the way social relations are structured. Pedagogic relations as social units then are significant in the sense that, "The greater the reduction of isolation and exclusion then the greater the potential for the circulation of strategies, of procedures and their exchange. Under these conditions there can be an expansion of repertoire and reservoir… Under these conditions, *the relation between a member actual and potential practice becomes dynamic* (Bernstein 1999, Bernstein 2000 p. 158, author's emphasis). This dynamism, its movement, and the potential development of any student is mediated in Bernstein's terms as a pedagogic relation. This pedagogic mediation clearly resembles Brunner's concept of scaffolding and Vygotsky's Zone of Proximal development.

Apart from using metaphorical concepts to escape easy classification (i.e., structuralist), Bernstein unambiguously states the potential disruption of codes of control. He specifically maintains, for example, that although codes and discourse constitute the person, "code acquisition necessarily entails both the acquisition of order and the potential of its disturbance" (Bernstein and Solomon 1999 p 7; Bernstein 2000). He is consistent with Wolff, Fairclough, and Laclau and Mouffe; more importantly, with systemic functional grammar such as SFL he explains the 'potential disturbance' in terms of the always-existing potential conflict between what could be said (choice system) and what is actually said (realization).

Specifically, the always present potential disruption of codes of control is conceptualized by Bernstein in his seminal paper "Codes, Modalities and the Process of Cultural Reproduction: a Model" (Bernstein, 1981, included in Bernstein 1990). Here, he

distinguishes between 'voice' and 'message.' 'Voice' referred to the limits on what could be realized or said legitimately. 'Message' refers to the contextual realization or what is actually said and which although dependent on what could be said cannot be determined. For Bernstein message is the means of changing voice and the implications of such change are that social relations within the social division of labor have the potential of changing that social division of labor (Bernstein 1990 p. 35). Thus, there is a never-stopping tension between 'voice' and 'message;' what *is* said could actually impact and change what *can be* said. In Bernstein's terms the "framing relations could lead to a change in the classificatory relations. In this way, framing relations could challenge the power relations imposing or enabling the classification" (B. Bernstein, 2000; B. Bernstein & Solomon, 1999).

These clarifications make it possible for Bernstein to construct a complex and dialectical theory of the pedagogic device and its relation to the struggle for symbolic control. Following this, and consistent with Althusser's claims about the nature of the Ideological State Apparatus's theory (Althusser, 1971), Bersntein points out that the pedagogic device is never wholly within the control of the state, and that by attempting to control the unthinkable it always creates a potential possibility. The 'yet to be voiced' (Bernstein 1990, p. 30) has the possibility of becoming 'voiced,' of becoming 'message.' Bernstein set out to study the content and the structure of pedagogic discourse as potential resource for the 'yet to be voiced' to become part of curricular discussions, benefiting those systematically and conspicuously denied access to discourses and codes allowing more equitable class positionings:

> Social class relations through distributive regulations distribute, unequally, discursive, material and social resources, which in turn creates categories

> of the included and excluded, makes crucial boundaries permeable to some and impermeable to others, and specialises and positions oppositionally identities (Bernstein 2000; p. 207).

Bernstein remained preoccupied 'with devices of transmission, relays of the symbolic (manifestations), modalities of practice and the construction and change of forms of consciousness'. Consequently, his theoretical project is of enormous importance to any analysis of the production and reproduction of knowledge via official schooling institutions and virtual learning environments in a global knowledge society providing current capitalist exploitative arrangements.

The goal of this study is to explicate the dimensions and complexities of the pedagogic device as a model for analyzing the processes by which discipline-specific or domain-specific expert knowledge is converted or pedagogized to constitute school knowledge (classroom curricula, teacher-student talk). This is an endeavor of utmost importance for a period described as a new form of political economy in which the main actor is the knowledge society or informational society. These new times are characterized by the increased importance of knowledge to the economy and the commodification of that knowledge (P. Graham, 1999), and likewise by increased social and economic inequalities (Collins, Yeskel, United for a Fair Economy., & Class Action (Organization), 2005; Isaak, 2005; Kozol, 1992; Squires, 2004; Zinn, 1999).

This review has highlighted discourse as the means of producing and distributing interested and stratified meanings. A case in point is the 'A Nation at Risk' report. This cornerstone educational document is both a result and a precursor of the neoliberal ideology dominant during the last 25 years. In Volosinov's words, "everything ideological possesses meaning: it represents, depicts, or stands for something lying

outside itself. In other words, it is a sign. *Without* signs there is no *ideology"* {Voloshinov, 1973 #469; emphasis original}.

I agree with Phil Graham who in a recent volume on '*hypercapialism'* asserts that "Any contemporary study of the knowledge economy must take the influence of neoliberal discourse into account" (P. Graham, 2006 p. 110). As evidenced in this review, the struggle over controlling powerful semiotic referents such as crisis, science, literacy, and who is at risk is a struggle over shaping the discourse in the classroom. It also speaks to broader and more fundamental struggles: the plea to control the production, appropriation, and distribution of surplus labor. The kind of class analysis that historically examines how surplus is produced, appropriated, and distributed and how such process frames the education our children receive has been absent from educational circles. This absence and its misinterpretation has been constructed over time by Marxists themselves, in part because Marxist analysis has not paid enough attention to developing a discursive analysis along with their social analysis.

The discursive approach taken here, examining discursive formations at the macro and micro levels, may provide an alternative to criticalist approaches stressing social reproduction and failing to show how the most directly affected actors in this struggle (teachers and students) are often absent from the debate, despite the usual recontextualization of these discourses in the local context of the classroom.

The renewed appeal of work creatively combining social theories with discursive tools responds to a new global need for an explanatory framework and for tools to understand and analyze contemporary changes in technology, economy, the labor market and culture; those changes occurring in work, education, and other regulatory institutions

and practices; and their consequences for identity construction, particularly in the context of the education reforms since the mid-1980s taking place especially in Europe and North America.

Therefore in this review I have covered different economic, cultural, and political factors that have historically influenced literacy and literacy practices. Following the epistemological grounds from which I operate, the purpose is not to demonstrate which realm of society (economy, culture, or politics) is more important. Rather, a more useful project explores how these realms have shaped the discourse on literacy in different and contradictory ways.

I began by contextualizing the historical motifs and imbalances in the capitalist, post-World War II U.S. that led to the demise of education as a social right (as conceived in the time of the civil rights movement) and the unapologetic vision of education as a social investment, one instrumental to the U.S. regaining its hegemonic power in the world. In doing this analysis, I thus problematized what is meant by 'educational crisis' and recontextualized it as a 'productivity crisis' under a capitalist regime.

With the insights gained from the previous review, I focused more specifically on critically looking at learning assumptions and the consequences of current educational initiatives belonging to what, following Bernstein 1990, I call the Official Recontextualizing Field (ORF) or macro context—namely, the Reading First Provision under the NCLB. I showed how these initiatives are trying to control what happens in the classroom. A successful and galvanizing event that brought economic and educational policy closer was explicitly realized with the report "A Nation at Risk" under the Reagan and Thatcher administrations, in the U.S. and England respectively.

I also showed how the aforementioned educational reforms knowingly or not operate to benefit specific corporate interests under the banner of 'what works' and 'scientific research.' This review is intended to serve as the ground to show how all these practices of exclusion overdetermine the strengthening of class divides, the persistence of deficit discourses in educational attainment that disproportionately affect English Language Learners of Latino background, and the de-skilling and the de-professionalization of teachers' work as their role becomes more controlled.

At a broader level of the radical political economy of education, this review is important as it problematizes the concept of 'crisis' of education in the U.S and instead recontextualizes it explicitly as crisis pertaining to specific conditions dealing with U.S. capitalism itself. Equally important is that this framework is instrumental in pointing to the strategies capitalism has historically used to shake itself from and attribute its crisis to other spheres of society, masking and leaving its exploitative and unstable nature intact. Frequently, in searching for answers to the crisis, well-intentioned education policy-makers and researchers, lawyers, politicians, superintendents, and teachers, regardless of ideological commitments and political alignment, miss the profound implications of educational practices or law reforms that solely and deterministically respond to a determinist positions of economic policy.

The unstable epistemological grounds of determinism lead theorists to look for determinants rather than constitutive parts that constitute the identity of any form of schooling. In this way, any 'key' determinants picked in any given circumstance are susceptible to being 'unpicked' by others studying the same phenomena. Similarly, any variables picked to be 'determinants' become hegemonic not because they are more

essential or important for the studied phenomenon, but because these determinants were picked by agents invested with hegemonic power. It is in this sense that anti-essentialists assert that a given privileged explanation of a phenomena tells us little about the very phenomena (because it is overdetermined), but teaches us a lot about those who chose them. In the specific case in question in this study, reading instruction is not re-defined by agencies such as the World Bank, the National Reading Panel or the Reading First provisions of the NCLB which hold the 'true' and 'scientific' justification for reading instruction. What is being foregrounded with these provisions is these agencies' interest in promoting competition and productivity as rationales for literacy.

Staying away from essentialist positions, this study looks at economics, politics, and culture as equally overdeterminant educational inputs and outputs whatever they mean. Specifically, this review sets the grounds for studying certain aspects of the culture of the classroom as constrained and enabled by changing economic and political circumstances particular to the era.

CHAPTER 3

THE SETTING: STATE, DISTRICT, AND FOCAL SCHOOL

This chapter describes the most relevant contexts for this study. First, I will briefly describe Massachusetts' context and some relevant federal and state legislation affecting public schools in general and the focal school in particular. I will then discuss city issues relevant to the school district to then focus on the focal school, the participants, and curriculum and instruction in the focus classroom. Two relevant federal and state policies are significant for public schools in Massachusetts serving large amounts of 'students at risk' which in this study are called English Language Learners: the abolition of Bilingual Education and Title I provisions under the NCLB act.

The Abolition of Bilingual Education in Massachusetts

The passage of Title VII entitled the *Bilingual Education Act* in1965 and the Law vs. Nichols lawsuit in 1974 have been landmark decisions in the history and development of Bilingual education and English as a Second Language Programs in the United States. While both decisions acknowledged the importance of providing language support for minority students in order to facilitate their access to content knowledge, the rationale was that minority students had a problem to overcome and that the solution was to learn English even at the expense of their own language (Ruiz, 1988). Thus, and despite the fact that a wealth of studies done in many countries throughout the world suggest that students in bilingual programs acquire the second language at least as quickly as those in second language "immersion" programs and often acquire it more quickly[14], bilingual education is considered by its detractors not only as counterproductive towards

encouraging assimilation among immigrants but also as not as effective as structured immersion (Rossell & Baker, 1996).

But models for language support for minority students are not only controversial but also varied (Faltis & Hudelson, 1998). They range from programs with full instruction in both languages (see Lessow-Hurley, 2000) to transitional bilingual programs and structured immersion programs in English only (i.e., Haver, 2003). This range of instruction can be thought of as a continuum of native language support, with two-way bilingual, bilingual immersion, and dual-language instruction programs providing the most instruction in both English and the native language and sheltered English, structured English immersion, and pull-out ESL programs focusing almost exclusively in English instruction and acquisition[15]. A major difference between these programs has been drawn by Lambert who distinguishes between additive approaches and subtractive approaches (Lambert, 1974). This distinction has been adopted widely by scholars to study current reforms affecting ELLs in different contexts (see Stritikus, 2006 for the California context). Additive approaches seek to maintain native language competencies and seek to develop second language competencies (including literacy). Subtractive approaches focus on acquiring academic competencies only in English using the first language only with English development in mind. Subtractive approaches, including transitional bilingual programs assume a 'language-as-a-problem' orientation to first language development (Ruiz, 1988).

The language as a social problem orientation is and has been pervasive and seems to be ingrained in the U.S consciousness since the very inception of bilingual education in the late 60's (Ruiz, 1988). A quick comparison of census data from two different

centuries may illustrate this point. According to the 2000 census, only 1.3% of the population cannot speak English, down from 3.6% in 1890. This simple example shows that language minorities do not need a law to encourage them to acquire English as they are highly motivated to do so and are succeeding. Yet, the current and pervasive rhetoric on language minorities, immigrants, and the like is one of crisis, risk, out of control and even terrorism. This phenomenon of making equivalences between words that traditionally come from different domains of social life is a strategy now being used frequently in neoliberal discourse and has the effect of creating a new discourse (N. Fairclough, 2004).

While tensions and debates have always been part of bilingual education, English-only advocates have had significant victories over few years in what Jim Crawford, director of the Institute for Language Policy calls 'war on diversity' (Crawford, 2000). The imposition of English-only policies in U.S. public schools (Crawford, 2000) financed by multimillionaire Ron Unz through compassionate and progressive slogans such as "English for the Children" has been one of such victories with voters in California, Arizona, and Massachusetts passing anti-bilingual education ballots in elections in 1998, 2000, and 2002 respectively. Almost overnight, as already explained in the review of literature, students who in these states and more specifically in the focal school for this study were receiving support in their native language were 'placed at risk' as the instruction focused only on English and their languages and backgrounds were no longer central in the current accountability measures of the NCLB.

A panel review by the Massachusetts Department of Education for the focal school describes the shift from bilingual education to English only instruction as follows:

> In 2003, the (Name of School) implemented a Sheltered English Immersion Program for their ELL students. The ELL students are included in the classes with native English speakers and receive native language support as needed from an ELL Support teacher. Together the classroom teacher and the ELL support teacher provide language acquisition and Sheltered English Immersion strategies to support the ELL students" (Massachusetts Department of Education, 2004-2005)

In actual classroom practice, only a handful of students received native language support. This was done more often through the help of paraprofessionals. However, in the literacy block that was the focus of this study, no ELL support teacher was present. This was due to the fact that Susan, the teacher of the focal classroom, was herself a 'highly qualified teacher' with several years of experience teaching reading and writing and math to diverse populations and working at the time towards a Master's degree in English Language Learners with reading licensure. The other adult who was always present was a monolingual paraprofessional that helped provide accommodations in reading and writing for two special education students at different times of the school year.

The abolition of bilingual education in Massachusetts, the new regulations for allocation and maintenance of Title I funds, and the accountability measures of the NCLB which prominently rest on the results from the MCAS –Massachusetts Comprehensive Assessment System- make the landscape that create the context for this study. I will now focus on Title I and the new regulations of the NCLB act in general to then describe in detail how these specific conditions affect the focal school.

Title I Schools and the No Child Left Behind Act

Title I (Previously Chapter I) of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA), has been the largest federal investment in the nation's public schools and has provided funding for compensatory education for programs and schoolwide reforms in contexts serving high percentages of economic disadvantaged students. Along with the emerging system of social programs during the civil rights movement, Title I was first conceived in 1965 with the aim of closing the achievement gap between poor children and their more advantaged peers, but also, and perhaps more importantly, to break the vicious cycle of poverty. In fact, Title I was a central component of Lyndon B. Johnson's "War on Poverty" (Borman, 2002) as it was also bilingual education (Ruiz, 1988).

Currently, and similar to its traditional focus, Title I, Part A, provides formula grants to school districts, which then allocate most of these funds to individual Title I schools based on their number of poor children. Under the current accountability and standards-based movement of the NCLB act however, the initial hub on cutting the poverty cycle has given way to the use of effective methods. That is, under NCLB legislation, and as discussed in detail in the review of literature, Title I funds can only be used for effective methods and instructional strategies that are grounded in 'scientifically based research.'

Thus, eligible schools may use Title I funds in two ways. They may use funds for Schoolwide programs to raise the achievement of low-achieving students by improving instruction throughout the entire school. Schools can also use funds for targeted assistance programs to provide targeted services to low-achieving students. The legislation supports the use of funds for a variety of services and activities, but highlights

their use for instruction in reading and mathematics (O. o. E. a. S. E. US Department of Education, 2002 p. 4). Specific details on how the district and the focal school assumed the provisions of the NCLB as related to Title I funds will be given in the next few pages. Before doing so I am providing a description with relevant data from the city and the school district in which the focal school is located.

The River Town Community

Because of its geographical location with strategic access to one of the state's most important rivers' water power, River Town, Massachusetts was planned and envisioned as a major industrial city in the Northeast of the United States. Dams and canals were constructed and have since then become landmarks in the city. While the city did not live up to the mid 1850's initial expectations to become a major rival of the thriving cotton manufacturing factories of nearby towns, River Town, became a viable place to immigrate to. Despite and perhaps because of major changes in its economic fabric, the city has always had a rich and long tradition of historical diversity.

The first immigrants were the Irish who first lived in shanties near the river and who then moved to rental apartments or company-built houses. The end of the Civil War attracted French Canadians, and Europeans. As the financial situation improved for some, new workers set the pattern of moving uphill into the highlands, wealthier sections of the city. At the turn of the century (around 1900), it was not difficult to perceive contrasting neighborhoods showing the economic and social gap between industrial workers and factory owners. Industrial decline of the 1920's, triggered by mass withdrawal of companies in search of cheaper means of production (i.e., electric power) and labor, and

by increased competition, ended up with a reduction of the city's population by one third of its peak in the early 1920's (65.000).

While the original water-power industry infrastructure remains in the city, the economy and the labor market that allowed newcomers to thrive and progress has changed dramatically. The last wave of immigrants, Puerto Ricans, who now comprise about 85% of population in downtown neighborhoods, suffer from an unemployment rate of over 31%. While in River Town over 75% of the Latino children grow up in poverty, the city receives the highest per-capita rate of state aid in Massachusetts and among the "highest rates of teen pregnancy and substance abuse in the state" ({River Town} Public Schools) Public Schools #522} Youth Task Force, #523}.

Currently, River Town is a city of 39,000 residents with 7,568 children enrolled in the public schools and another 1,779 enrolled in non-public schools. 29% of River Town families and 51% of students are living at or below the poverty level and 70% of public school children are eligible for free lunches ({River Town} Public Schools) Public Schools #522} Youth Task Force, #523}.The city is facing a very difficult situation in its public school structure in many fronts. Academic statistics from the Department of Education point out River Town's below average academic failure in elementary school as measured by the MCAS –Massachusetts Comprehensive Assessment System- (41% in River Town vs. 12% statewide in English Language Arts). School desertion shows that 8.3% of River Town students drop out school as opposed to 3.6% statewide.

The availability of alcohol and drugs and the extreme economic deprivation in River Town are other worrisome variables that affect school's performance. According to a 2000-2001 PRIDE survey, 3.8% 5th grade students said they drank beer within the past

year while 8.1% 7th grade students said they smoked marijuana within the past year. In 1990, the per-capita income broken down by ethnic/racial group was as follows: $13.531 for River Towns, $ 6.709 for African-Americans, and $ 4.131 for Latinos. This translated to a poverty level for Latinos of 59.1% compared to a total poverty state rate of 8.9%. Among Latino female-headed households, the poverty rate was 93.1% in 1990 and 71% for women with children under age 5 ({River Town} Public Schools, 2001).

The School Community

River Town Elementary School is one of eight elementary schools in River Town. The school is nested in a cul de sac area of River Town known as the elite Highlands. The school has just finished an expansion process: in 2003 it began serving students in grade 6, in 2004 it began serving students in grade 7, and in 2005 it began serving students in grade 8. Currently, 502 students attend River Town school. While the black and Asian populations have decreased in the period between 2001 and 2004, and the River Town population has remained stable, the percentage of Hispanic students rose from 65 percent in 2001 to 71 percent in 2004. 78% of students who took the ELA portion of the MCAS in 2005 are Hispanic. Between 2001 and 2004, 73 - 79 percent of the River Town School's students were from low-income families (Massachusetts Department of Education, 2004-2005). In 2006, 87% of students qualify for free or reduced Lunch. Nearly 40 percent of the students (about 188 students) have Spanish as their primary language (Massachusetts Department of Education , 2004-2005;{River Town} Public Schools, 2001).

Students at the River Town Elementary School are assessed in grades 3 and 4 in English language arts (ELA). As a Title I school, the school receives federal funds destined for "improving the academic achievement of the disadvantaged." Prior to receiving these funds, this struggling Title I school was identified by the Massachusetts DOE as needing corrective action in Mathematics and needing improvement in English Language Arts. The school has not made Adequate Yearly Progress (AYP) in ELA since 2003; the school failed to make AYP in ELA in the aggregate and for two subgroups: Free/Reduced Price Lunch and Hispanic.

The data from River Town School is consistent with national trends that show a close relationship between low-Income and low-achieving groups. According to statistics of the Department of Education in Massachusetts, 92 % of Hispanic River Town students who took the ELA portion of the MCAS for grade 4 in 2005 ranked in the Needs Improvement or Warning performance level categories. The percentage of students who took this portion of the test and that are low income is 88%. This correlation is significant especially if we consider that close to 80 % of students in River Town are Hispanic. Thus, a high percentage of low achieving, low-income students at River Town are Hispanics.

According to school data No 'Limited English Proficient' students scored in the Advanced or Proficient ranges in any administrations of the grade 4 ELA test. Percentages in Warning range from 90 in 2000 to 62 in 2004. In 2003, 22 percent scored in the Needs Improvement range; in 2004, 38 percent of LEP students scored in this category. The variation reflected in scores correlates with the small populations tested -13 to 23 students (Massachusetts Department of Education, 2004-2005).

In accordance with the federal No Child Left Behind Act, student performance is

disaggregated by the following subgroups: Limited English Proficient, Special Education, Free/Reduced Price Lunch, African-American/Black, Asian or Pacific Islander, Hispanic, Native American, and River Town. A minimum of 40 students (or 5% of the total number of students assessed, whichever is greater) per subgroup is required to issue a statistically sound rating or determination of Adequate Yearly Progress (AYP). The subgroups meeting the minimum sample size at River Town in 2004 were Limited English Proficient, Free/Reduced Price Lunch, and Hispanic for ELA, and Free/Reduced Price Lunch and Hispanic for mathematics.

The Classroom: Macro/Micro Connections

The curriculum used in the classroom was a direct consequence of the new Title I provisions of the NCLB. The contextual information already provided and the one provided below serves to better illustrate this point.

Before the adoption of the current literacy model, River Town Public Schools were using a model called "The Literacy Collaborative"[16]. According to a teacher in the district who used it, "this is a guided reading program [with a] workshop model in which the students worked in a guided reading group with the teacher, independent reading in which the children were in charge of choosing a 'just right' book, and finally journal writing about a book they read." Beginning in the Fall of 2005, the Literacy Collaborative was replaced by a model promoted by America's Choice Inc. a subsidiary of the National Center on Education and the Economy based on Washington DC.

This new model was implemented as the result of the 'systemic' reform efforts of the River Town public schools superintendent to respond to local and federal provisions.

One of these provisions took place during November of 2004 when the River Town School received the visit of local and state functionaries who were to conduct a School Panel Review. This Process was implemented by the Commissioner of Education in determining whether State intervention was needed to guide improvement efforts in schools where students' MCAS performance is not at a level that reaches the school's Adequate Yearly Progress targets in English language arts or mathematics or both.

After visiting the school, the Panel Review concluded that a) River Town Elementary School has an adequate plan for improving student performance, and that b) the conditions are in place for the successful implementation of the improvement plan (Massachusetts Department of Education, 2004-2005). With respect to the second conclusion, it is worth noting that one of the conditions for successful implementation of the improvement plan that convinced the Panel was the guidance and support from the district leadership, and more specifically the superintendent. In an interview with the Panel Review team, and responding to the corrective measures that the district is taking, the superintendent explained that since his hiring in 2002, his efforts have been focused on both systemic reform and on the needs of individual schools such as the River Town School. The panel reported that the superintendent spoke confidently and optimistically about some of the programs and services provided by the district in support of the River Town School's improvement initiatives.

One of the measures that directly impacted all the classrooms in the district and that is reported in the Panel Review was the replacement of the Literacy Collaborative Model with the reading First grant, and more specifically with Scott Foresman reading

program and DIBELS. For the specific case of River Town school, the Panel Review explained the following changes as follows:

> The School Improvement Planning Team determined that the Reading Collaborative – the Reading program for the district and school for several years – was no longer meeting the needs of the students. The school successfully earned a Reading First grant and the faculty adopted a Scott Foresman reading program for K-3. District funding allowed the program to be extended to grades 4 and 5, and work is said to be ongoing to assimilate the middle school grades into the reading initiative. There is now a 90-minute literacy block each day. A literacy coordinator was hired and funding was provided to hire additional consultants to provide training for the staff in assessment strategies.

It is worth noting how in a pattern that by now should not be strange under the new Title I, NCLB, and Reading First regulations, DOE officials *determined* (in just two days) that the Literacy Collaborative was 'no longer meeting the needs of the students' while the faculty *adopted* Scott Foresman (a 'scientific based approach' under NCLB specifications). The well documented conflict of interest already mentioned regarding Reading First (see endnote 3) may shed a different light into the basis upon which DOE officials and faculty at River Town took such decisions. In addition to these changes, the school also adopted a "Comprehensive School Reform" initiative that called on board the America's Choice Model. America's Choice schools are funded by state and local governments, as well as Title I funds under *No Child Left Behind.*

The Era of America's Choice

After this landmark decision and beginning in the fall of 2005, the River Town Public Schools and the River Town School began to implement model of literacy called

Ramp-Up to literacy which is a component of the America's Choice School Design for middle schools and high schools. Teachers in the River Town school district were trained into this model during the summer of 2005 and the beginning of the fall. Susan, the focus teacher in my research describes the America's Choice Literacy component as one in which "English teachers organize instruction around Readers and Writers Workshops in which every student is expected to write in different genres and to read and analyze several books by the same author."

According to a CBS News Highlight on December 19, 2004, Ramp-Up is a research-based program that provides struggling readers entering middle school and high school with 90 minutes of daily instruction in reading, writing, listening, speaking, and skills from highly trained teachers. America's Choice President Judy Codding told a CBS interviewer that the problem that educators face is that high school students can sound out most words, but they can't comprehend words in sentences and paragraphs.

Since the River Town Public School District has been identified as an under-performing district by the Massachusetts Board of Education (Massachusetts Department of Education, 2004-2005 p. 14) America's Choice became a logical option to consider since it specifically caters to struggling schools that have had problems reaching what the NCLB called Adequate Year Progress (AYP). America's Choice presents itself as a 'turn around' partner to its associates. Because of its focus on raising test scores as evidenced from the rigorous plan given to the teachers in the district to follow during the literacy block for six weeks prior to the MCAS test, there is little doubt to say that the meaning of 'turn around' relates mostly to test scores.

Ramp-up Literacy and Sponsored Products

As expressed before, the Ramp-up literacy initiative is a program directly linked to America's choice. This in turn, is a direct subsidiary of the National Center on Education and the Economy based on Washington DC. The literacy programs supported by this agency align with the Reading First specifications of the NCLB act. The Read 180 program is listed as one of the 'aligned' model programs in the ramp-up literacy web page (http://www.literacymatters.org/ programs/rampup.htm). As previously discussed, under the NCLB act, Title I funds can be used to raise the achievement of at-risk students by improving the quality of instruction throughout the school or to raise the achievement of low-achieving students through targeted assistance programs (O. o. E. a. S. E. US Department of Education, 2002 p. 3). Again, it should be stressed that new provisions of the law establish that instruction should focus on 'what works'. This requires that Title I funds be used only for 'effective educational practices'. This means that schoolwide and targeted assistance programs are required to use effective methods and instructional strategies that are grounded in scientifically based research (O. o. E. a. S. E. US Department of Education, 2002) p. 3-4).

Thus, schoolwide (Ramp-up literacy) and targeted assistance programs (Read 180), directly linked to and promoted by the NCEE agency (Ramp-up literacy through America's Choice and Read 180 through Scholastic) are the same (and some of the few) that align with all the provisions established by the law. This not only guarantees alignment to the law, but more importantly, it guarantees Title I funds to be used almost exclusively with these privately sponsored products on the basis that they are 'scientifically based research' and they have been proven effective. This is so despite the

fact that in the case of the READ 180 program "…more data from students need to be collected from students in the READ 180 program…in order to make reliable decisions regarding the effectiveness of this particular reading intervention" (Thorpe, 2003 p. 6). This is also despite the fact that while America's choice results *of evaluation studies appear promising* and very encouraging "they do not use rigorous experimental research designs, so the results should be viewed cautiously" (US Department of Education, 2004).

The connections between these programs are also evident in terms of classroom organization. Layout similarities between a traditional ramp-up literacy classroom and those of a READ 180 classroom are hard to miss. Bonnie Dickinson, Director of Secondary Literacy at America's Choice, Inc., presented at a middle school on February 23, 2005 about the research foundation, program design, implementation, and preliminary findings of the program. In one of the slides of her power point presentation, she showed a graphic showing a sample room arrangement for ramp-up (see figure). The components in this graphic closely resemble the components and the organization of a generic READ 180 classroom. Further, this organization is almost identical to the READ 180 classroom at River Town School.

The Read 180 Program

The Read 180 program was developed by T.S. Hasselbring, an author of several computer programs who over the past twenty years has conducted research on the use of technology for enhancing learning in students with mild disabilities and those who are at

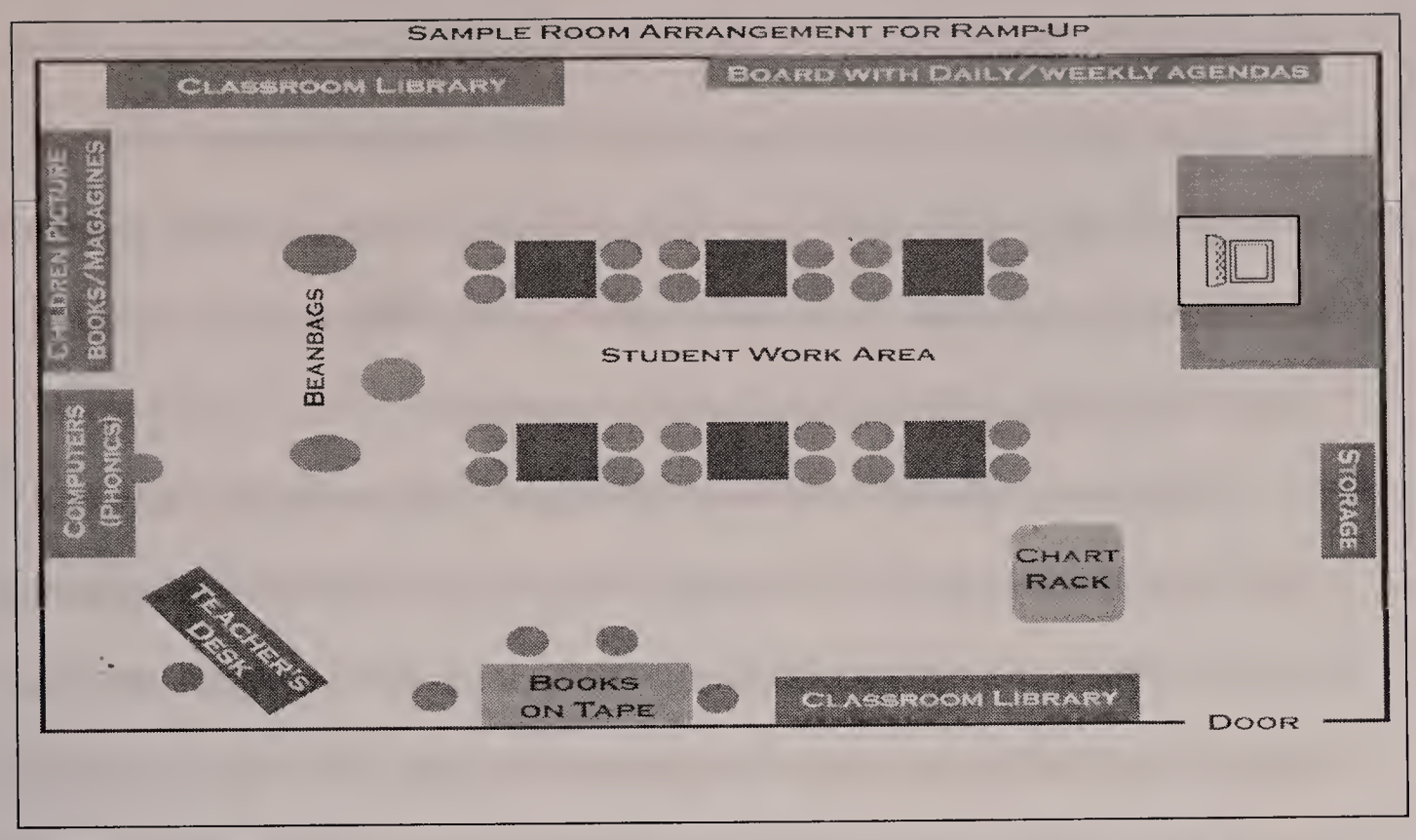


Figure 1. Sample Room Arrangement

risk of school failure. According to the Florida Center for Reading Research, the instructional design of the program is derived from research on the use of technology for enhancing learning in students with mild disabilities and those who are at-risk of school failure.

Apart from the development of READ 180, Dr. Hasselbring is involved in many more projects in which he supports Instructional decisions for the technology components. One of them is the Start to Finish library, a learning intervention resource distributed by Don Johnston company[17], which intends to support the development of all 'six dimensions of reading' in older struggling readers according to the Reading Excellence Act from the OESE (Office of Elementary and Secondary Education, 2002). These dimensions of reading are very much alike Catherine Snow's 'five pedagogies' which were used as core 'pedagogies' in the National Reading Panel (Allington, 2002; Krashen,

2001; National Reading Panel (U.S.) & National Institute of Child Health and Human Development (U.S.), 2000). The Start-to-Finish-Library project presents itself as a 'collaborative design by experts in the fields of reading, language, learning disabilities and educational technology. It was developed using 'proven principles of reading research' (D. Tyack, Venable, Stemach, & Hasselbring).

The reading research is also a prominent theme in an interview with Dr. Hasselbring by scholastic. Dr. Hasselbring claims that *READ 180* provides students with so much of what good reading instruction is and contends that "the foundation of the program is based on sound cognitive research and good instructional design. He claims that the use of anchor videos to introduce the readings help the students develop mental models of the text they were going to read. Throughout the interview, Dr. Hasselbring cites research that supports the program. He also cites research for the use the technology to help students develop neural models of words that could be retrieved accurately and fluently for both reading and spelling. He frequently refers to the report by the National Reading Panel which according to him "suggests that success in reading requires instruction in phonemic awareness, phonics, fluency, vocabulary, and comprehension and *READ 180* provides support for the student in each of these areas, using both computer technology and direct teacher intervention." (Scholastic, 2005).

Read 180 is an intensive reading intervention program designed to meet the needs of struggling readers in grades four through twelve. The goals of the program are to increase the students' decoding, fluency, vocabulary and comprehension skills. The program intends to address individual needs through adaptive and instructional software, literature, and direct instruction in reading skills. The program continually assesses

students and aims at providing instruction based upon the findings. Results are reported in various ways with the most significant being the lexile levels of students. According to the scholastic web page, lexiles refers to the vocabulary students acquire that allows them to access and comprehend text (http://teacher.scholastic.com/products/read180).

A typical lesson consists of 15-20 minute whole-group introductory or review section, three small-group, rotating sessions, and a whole-group wrap-up time. Teachers are directed to conduct Read Alouds, model fluent reading (i.e., phrasing) and use of reading strategies (highlighting important information), and utilize shared reading, choral reading, or other group reading strategies to engage students during this introductory lesson. Students then move to one of three 20-minute stations: The Teacher Station where the teacher directs instruction, The Computer Station in which students go to the reading, spelling, or word zone, and The Library Station in which they read or listen to books on tape. A ten-minute, whole-group wrap-up completes the class period.

READ 180 in River Town Elementary

The simultaneous presence of a schoolwide initiative (America's Choice) and the targeted assistance program (READ 180) in River Town promoted a hybrid class orientation that while promoted the creative incorporation of aspects of each of the two (often at the expense of the READ 180 component) approaches also promoted a resourceful use of teacher's expertise and decision making.

Towards the second part of the school year (late November to April which is the focus of this study), and because of the rigorous plan given to the teachers in the district to follow during the literacy block for six weeks prior to the state test, instruction on the

READ 180 was usually limited to the computer and the books on tape stations although many times there was no time for either of these. During the period referenced above, the whole-group teacher led discussion became the center and most important focus of the lesson. This teacher led discussion focused on test taking skills and the analysis of the kind of texts and questions that students will encounter in the state test. During this time the 'turn around' agenda was privileged and affected the normal progression of the READ 180 curriculum. This is why the Read 180 is referenced here but not as directly.

Participants

The Teacher

The Teacher of this class identifies herself as a River Town, middle-class, middle-aged woman with Irish heritage. She is a humorous, light-hearted person who advocates for the rights and education of hér community, even when her current community has dramatically changed into a Latino community that does not resemble her race, social class, and culture. She expresses this belief as she daily encounters and fights against the racism, homophobia, and stereotypes that her Latino students, historically victims of these same ills, express when referring to others. This process of the victim becoming the aggressor is a recursive cycle that dates back to the origins of River Town -and that Susan knows well- when Irish immigrants, now settled and traditionally a powerful force in River Town were once denigrated and discriminated against as bigotry signs such as the notorious "NO IRISH NEED APPLY" were common place in the city just a century ago.

Susan is conscious of her own privilege and recognizes her own loss (Spivak, Landry, & MacLean, 1996), that is, the loss of not being able to experience victimization in the same way others have experienced it. As a person able to recognize and go beyond her own privilege in the service of others, she can be said to have a Post-White identity (Raible, 2005).

Susan jokingly says that she has been teaching since she was 6 when asked about her years of experience in teaching. This is so because she identifies as a teacher by nature as she recollects observing and learning from her mother, also a teacher for all her life. Formally, Susan has been teaching since 1989. In those years of experience she has never left River Town and has taught at all levels including elementary, middle-school, high-school, and adults. She is highly qualified to teach Math, Reading, and Writing. She recently graduated from a Masters' in English Language Learners Teaching with Reading Licensure. This inquiry-based Master's was offered on-site by ACCELA (Access to Critical Content English Language Acquisition), a federally funded school-university partnership, in which I was a Project Assistant and which serves as an immediate context for this study. Further information about the partnership can be found in the methodology.

The Role of the Researcher

An important part of the ethnographic approach is the continued and in-depth observation of emerging patterns of experience. The ACCELA Alliance[18] provided the context for this 'thick description' (Geertz, 1973) to be carried out more naturally

because as one of many project assistants, I was required to constantly visit, observe and assist teachers in their classroom. As the work with the partnership progressed, I was involved in designing, co-teaching and teaching courses for the program. While for the most part these tasks were part of my responsibilities and duties as a project assistant, they were conducive to engaging in collaborative inquiry with teachers I worked with as our conversations included (but were certainly not limited to) some of ACCELA's main goals: explore ways to better support ELLs to acquire academic language and content under new challenges at the local, state, and federal levels and sharing our developing understandings and perspectives with others. I would like to think about this study as one of the ways in which such goals are realized. Let me explain.

During the course of my different duties I had the opportunity to attend, co-teach, and teach classes in the program. As I visited teachers in their own classrooms, I often had the opportunity to experience how what transpired in the program's classes had an effect on instructional practices[19] as well as the challenges and obstacles teachers had to confront in order to complete their inquiry projects for different graduate classes. From early on in my participation in the partnership, I could not help but notice the intriguing success and profound insights that Susan, the focus teacher for this study, seemed to have both in the program classes and in her own classroom. Her live personality, sense of leadership, great sense of humor, and comprehensive understanding of local and broader context that affected her teaching context, and the context of her students was the main motivation for wanting to work more closely with her. It was in this context that I intuitively asked my advisor and principal investigator for ACCELA to be assigned to

work with Susan in my next project assistant appointment. Fortunately, my advisor agreed.

In one occasion while talking about one of the classes I had observed in her classroom, Susan expressed concern about the fact that many teachers were feeling the pressures of new mandates and demands. She commented how other teachers often looked for her at often odd hours asking her for counsel and guidance. She recalled that there was one recurrent question teachers often asked. In her own words during one of the conversations we had she told me:

> Teachers often come to me and ask: *What is it that I do in the classroom? How is it that over the years I have worked with difficult learners, learners who typically no other teacher want, and I am able to put them to work?* I tell them: I don't know. I don't know what I do. I just do it."

This episode truly exemplifies how what were merely project assistant tasks transcended into collaborative inquiry with teachers in the program: this idea stuck with me and soon it became the focal point I wanted to explore in detail in my dissertation!!!. Susan's informal comment became my way to explore ways in which teachers' textual practices in the classroom could be accurately described to better support ELLs to acquire academic language and content knowledge while the dissertation was my way of sharing developing understandings and perspectives with others. My role as a project assistant fruitfully transitioned into a role of researcher as I sought to find a way to make the implicit explicit; to systematize intuitive pedagogic knowledge.

Furthermore, and as I engaged in the exploration of what I call more technically the 'co-construction of pedagogic genres in the focal classroom", my role shifted from observer to participant observer. Along the course of the academic year in which I collected data, Susan consulted me for materials and used some I suggested, used

materials I had designed, and used my Spanish 'nativeness' as a resource in the classroom when the students or herself were not able to make sense of certain word or expression in Spanish.

Coming back to the researcher's role of systematizing intuitive knowledge, the review of the literature and the methodology sections are an attempt to respond to these challenges. While the question that provided inspiration and focus for this study has been redefined and further contextualized, it nevertheless remains as a central issue. Further details on this school university partnership as well as refinements and theory-method linkages made will be explored in detail in the methodology section. Before doing so, I finish this chapter by describing the students who participated in the study.

The Students

The focus classroom consists of ten students. 9 of them are Hispanics and one Caucasian. One of the Hispanic students joined the READ 180 class in February, so I will only be reporting on nine students. All Hispanic students have close ties with Puerto Rico either because they were born in the island (two of them were) or because their parents originally come from there. All Hispanic students are low-income with around half of them living with only one parent or guardian. In the cases where this is the case, the parent or guardian is a woman. Approximately 65% of the Hispanic students report that their first language is Spanish and report using Spanish more frequently than English. Two of the Hispanic students who report using English all the time actually use Spanish or a sophisticated code-switching quite often to talk to peers. They tend to accommodate to the language other students are using to participate in conversation. When they initiate

conversation, they usually use English. The Caucasian student is from River Town and he is monolingual.

While I would not be reporting as much about the Read 180 program in this study, it is nevertheless important to reference it often as, for example, the class and the kids were referred to as the Read 180 classroom and the Read 180 kids. In fact, all of the students came to be part of this classroom based on an important READ 180 intervention program criteria: all students were identified as struggling readers. Most of them also have Individualized Academic Plans (IEP). In order to be enrolled in the program, students typically have to be at least two levels below reading level. According to the coordinators, students who are just below grade level would test out of the program very fast. This was positively observed as at least 4 students were promoted out of the program only a month and a half after starting the program. The students in the focus classroom have been part of the READ 180 class all along although their current group arrangement was only achieved in the last days of November 2005. A combination of factors ended playing out an important role in making the decision to enroll students in the Read 180 program. The Read 180 coordinators use the Scholastic Reading Inventory (SRI) to make decisions about who to enroll into the program. Among many other things, this inventory provides a lexile, which speaks of the students' reading level.

Susan, the focus teacher of this study, used the SRI to make placing decisions but also relied on scores for the Reading and Writing MEPA test[20]. The MEPA test is a standards-based assessment for all English Language Learners that assesses the Reading and Writing abilities of English Language Learners grades 3-12. This state mandated test is based on the Massachusetts' English Language Proficiency Benchmarks and Outcomes

for ELL's. All enrolled ELL's should take this test regardless of the time they entered the school system. Susan averaged the scores of the SRI and the MEPA and decided who should be in the program. Susan also received requests from teachers to enroll students 'who would benefit from a targeted intervention'. At least 1 of the current READ 180 students was referred directly this way, but upon looking at the students' records, this was not a big decision to take provided that the Raw Score in the MCAS Reading portion was 17, a warning proficiency score. That is, the student was eligible for the READ 180 classroom anyway. A more detailed record of students is presented in Table 1.

Table 1. Participants

NAME	FIRST LANGUAGE	MOST FREQUENTLY SPOKEN	OTHER TESTS / ASSESSMENTS	ELA MCAS	OTHER
Manuel Torres 9/9/93 Brooklyn Hispanic	English*	English	Average of C+ grade 5 report in Reading and Writing	210 Warning 14 Raw Score Reading	Granted in Custody only in 2005
Cristina Sanchez 6/21/92 NYC Hispanic	English	English	Average of C grade 5 report in Reading and Writing	210 Warning 14 Raw Score Reading	Lived in several foster homes. Title I, Sped Services, Speech
Janier Vega 3/8/93 NYC Hispanic and Caucasian	Spanish	Spanish	Average of C+ grade 6 report in Reading. BSM Eng. 3 Sp. 4 MELA-O 2002 C 5 P 4 MEPA 2005 Intermediate (363)	216 Warning 17 Raw Score Reading.	(2005)Grammatical usage approximate that of a native speaker of the same age. Score range 198-201-204 District ave 203 Student's percentile's range 13
Landon Rivera 6/24/91 Bayamon, PR Hispanic	Spanish	Spanish	No tested Yet. Arrived September 2005	No tested yet.	Comes from Albergue Olimpico Salinas.
Jonathan Basak Caucasian River Town	English.	English		ELA Scaled score Performance Level 220 Needs Improvement (Spring 2004) Raw Score for Reading 23	River Town
Cristina Orengo Hispanic	Spanish	Spanish		Spring 05 Grade 5 Raw score Reading 12 Spring 04 ELA 214 Warning	Student Score Range 186-189-192 Percentile 6th
Jose Santiago 12/31/93 Hispanic Guyama, PR	Spanish	Spanish	BSM Fall 02 English 3, Spanish 4 MELA-O Spring 05 C 4 P 3 MEPA TEST 2005 Grade 5 Score 353 Intermediate.	Spring 2003 Raw Score Reading 14 Spring 2004 (Grade 4) ELA 236 Needs Improvement	Speech, Language Disability, Behavior S05 Grade 5 Student Score Range 178-181-184 Student Percentile 2-3-4
Dario Quinonez 6/27/91 Hispanic River Town , MA	English	English / Spanish	Average of F grade 5report in Reading and Writing	ELA (Grade 4) Spring 2002 214 Warning	Has received special education in grades 1-7
Amelia Correa	English	English/Spanish	Not released	Not released	Not released

All names are pseudonyms.

* As Reported by Guardian. Uses Spanish with Peers at school.

CHAPTER 4

METHODOLOGY

In his theory of pedagogy and the shaping of consciousness (Christie, 1999), Basil Bernstein claims that texts produced and distributed at the macro level (that Bernstein calls the voiced) are always subject to the pedagogical recontextualization and discourse (the yet to be voiced) of teachers at the micro level through what Bernstein calls the 'pedagogic device'(B Bernstein, 1990; B. Bernstein, 2000). In order to study the presence of this ubiquitous tension between ideology and its actual realization in language in a context of a classroom, as it is the case in this study, both a theory of ideology and language are required. However, before attempting to do so, it is worth pointing out that to say that pedagogy shapes consciousness is to say that the social reappears in the individual. This idea by itself implies a social theory as well as one of language.

Sociocultural theory in the Vygotskyan tradition has contributed significantly to view individual learning as a social construction -phylogenesis (historical development of a phenomenon) and ontogenesis (individual development) (Gebhard, 1999; 2000 for example recontextualizes SLA as an institutional phenomenon).

More recently, Sociocultural theory has sparked much of the research on the role of classroom discourse in student's learning. Following Vygotsky's lead, in which learning (including language learning) is seen as leading development and not as separate from it, Gibbons notes how the focus has shifted from the traditional concern with cognitive processes and conceptual structures involved in learning to a concern with the kinds of engagements that provide the most effective and appropriate context for curriculum learning to take place (Gibbons, 2006). Further efforts in this direction have

been carried out under the field of Critical Literacy (i.e., A. Luke, 1998) and Systemic Functional Linguistics to closely analyze the distribution patterns of linguistic differentiation associated with the claim that "in the absence of an explicit focus on language, students from certain social class backgrounds continue to be privileged" (Schleppegrell, 2004 p. 3)

The issue of the differentiation of linguistic access based on different social conditions and its effects racial and class inequality is crucial but has not been theorized sufficiently. A pioneer in this area is R. Hasan who has worked on systematic variation in semiotic mediation. Other authors have also given consideration to this same issue (Christie, 1999; L Delpit, 1988; L. Delpit, 1995). Along with the need to focus on the kinds of engagements that provide the most effective and appropriate context for curriculum learning to take place indebted to Vygotsky, there is a need for studies that go beyond to recognize the importance of both linguistic form and social relations, and how differentiated linguistic styles have an effect in reproducing or transforming social positions. Hasan makes this point soundly by recurring to Bernstein's theory:

> The acceptance of the view that the cultural reappears in the individual creates a common ground for dialogue between the two theories. However, by ignoring *systematic variation in semiotic mediation*, Vygotsky tells a simple story. For Bernstein the story is more complex: the varying social relations of class through the varied functioning of their distributive rules ultimately become differentiated internal realities of the differently positioned subjects, shaping differently their notions of the significant and relevant. The child is no longer generic: differently positioned children become the concern: the adult agent of semiotic mediation is no longer culturally neutral: s/he is the voice of a distinct ideology (Hasan 1999 p. 19).

Thus, Sociocultural theory along with the framework developed by Literacy Studies of a textually mediated social world and its essential role for understanding and

analyzing contemporary changes in language use (Barton, 2001) may benefit greatly from the task suggested by critical language theorists mentioned above. In fact, it is Barton himself who rightly points out that an additional task for Literacy Studies is to link in a motivated way research which starts with the analysis of texts with research which sets out from the analysis of practices: discourse analysis studies have analyzed texts and much Literacy Studies research has been of practices.

Bernstein's and Hasan's incorporation of social theory in the study of social differentiation of linguistic access suggest not just a focus on discourse analysis but a Critical focus on discourse studies (Fairclough, 2003; P. Graham, 1999, 2006; M. A. K. Halliday & Martin, 1993; Lemke, 1995; J. R. Martin & Rose, 2003). The methods and theories used in this study have been motivated by such a task: in a textually and socially mediated world in which learning occurs in the context of social practices, a link between analysis of pedagogical texts as they respond to social agendas instantiated in the locus of a classroom is necessary. One of such methods, critical ethnography, is described below.

Critical Ethnography

Ethnographies are case studies because of their focus on a single entity, but they differ from case studies in general in that they always include in their focus the culture of the group or entity under study (M LeCompte & Schensul, 1999). Throughout this dissertation I have been building the case that meanings are stratified and have different value not so much according to the meaning itself, but according to the community who produces it. Clearly, under the "current high-stakes education" environment already referenced in the review of literature, the cultural ways of expression of schools, teachers,

and local administrators serving these populations have been relegated as their practices may not be 'scientifically based.'

Given this differentiation and the cultural gap it creates, a specific type of ethnography is adopted here. Researchers who engage in Critical Ethnography find present-day society to be unfair, unequal and both subtly and overtly oppressive for many people, especially for underrepresented groups. Power, change and an emancipatory agenda are at the center of this ethnographic orientation (Carspecken, 1996). The aim of critical ethnography is to explore power as enacted in the everyday social relations, making visible the taken for granted and often invisible practices of a cultural group. Thus, as an applied linguist studying education, I focus on the analysis of discursive tools to study the ideologies that transpire through these. I use ethnography to sustain an intensive observation of the local context in order to better be able to contextualize what is said and to better understand circumstances in which certain meaning potentials are realized. Critical ethnography is used because it is concerned with issues of power, reproduction, resistance, and transformation; issues that represent the context which I study.

Furthermore, a postmodern orientation to Critical ethnography is necessary because it problematizes the possibilities and benefits of engaging in an emancipatory project. It asks the questions: emancipatory to whom? What is meant by emancipation? This is so because such a process presupposes the construction of self and the others usually from an "inside-out theorizing" [21] stance (L Delpit, 1988; L. Delpit, 1995; A Luke

& Luke, 2000) that more often than not falls into some kind of 'white love' (Rafael, 2000).

As already elaborated in detail in the review of literature, criticalists often fall into this by the very act of assuming modernistic binaries such as oppressed/oppressors and thus treating power as belonging to actors or institutions and not to the relations they enact through systems of knowledge. The postmodern lens, which in this study is specified by the openness and never determinist function of pedagogic discourse (B Bernstein, 1990; Christie, 1999) brings uncertainty, dynamism, and fluidity to critical ethnography.

Data Collection and Research Questions

The focus of this study is the pedagogic recontextualization of meanings at a classroom level. These meanings are treated as cultural productions of a collective reappearing in specific ways in the locus of the classroom. The metaphors of 'pedagogic reservoir' and 'pedagogic repertoire' serve to illustrate the reappearance of the pedagogic social in the individual. This idea will be expanded further in this chapter and later in the analysis section.

This ethnographic study was carried out during the entire academic year of 2005-2006 in a K-8 school in Massachusetts serving large amount of disadvantaged Latino students. The data consists of video recordings, observations, audio recordings, samples of student work, teachers' curricular materials and lessons, students' test scores, their personal files and unstructured interviews. The guiding questions of this dissertation are:

- What have been significant themes in the sociopolitics of literacy in the last 25 years in US? How do they seem to affect (or not) current educational reform?

- Given the current educational reform and the significant themes it advances, how do they re-emerge in the classroom? How is it typically co-constructed and organized in this classroom? What are or may be some academic or non-academic consequences of this organization for students and/or any other stakeholders?

While the main source of data was the videorecordings and fieldnotes of observations, an ethnographic perspective considers it necessary to step out of the classroom and to pay attention to the broader context which make certain relations possible (Ann Egan-Robertson & Willett, 1998). In order to answer the first part of the first question (*What were significant changes in the sociopolitics of literacy at federal and state levels in the last 25 years in US?)* I used insights from the already mentioned Critical Discourse Studies to examine cornerstone policy documents representative of the focus period to then relate this macro context to what was happening in the focal classroom. For question 1 then, the methodological assumption was that discourse serves as a conceptual bridge between a social event and a social system and that by looking at discourse in macro and micro contexts one can study change. In question one then, the social system is represented by the changing economics and politics of society in the focus period already detailed in the review of literature. The social event (the focus of question 2) refers to the co-construction of pedagogic discourse in the focal classroom. The figure below serves as a heuristic to explain this idea.

One point that should be stressed is that in both macro and micro contexts, represented by the social system and the social event respectively, the focus is pedagogic discourse. The already mentioned idea that the cultural reappears in the individual will be of paramount importance. This is so, because in this study, the pedagogic belonging to the broader socio-cultural system is theorized as a 'pedagogic reservoir' made up of

dominant and non-dominant cultural ideas about pedagogy. In turn, the concept of 'pedagogic repertoire' will be used as a way to represent the reappearance of this pedagogic reservoir in the individual. More specific details will be given later in the data analysis section.

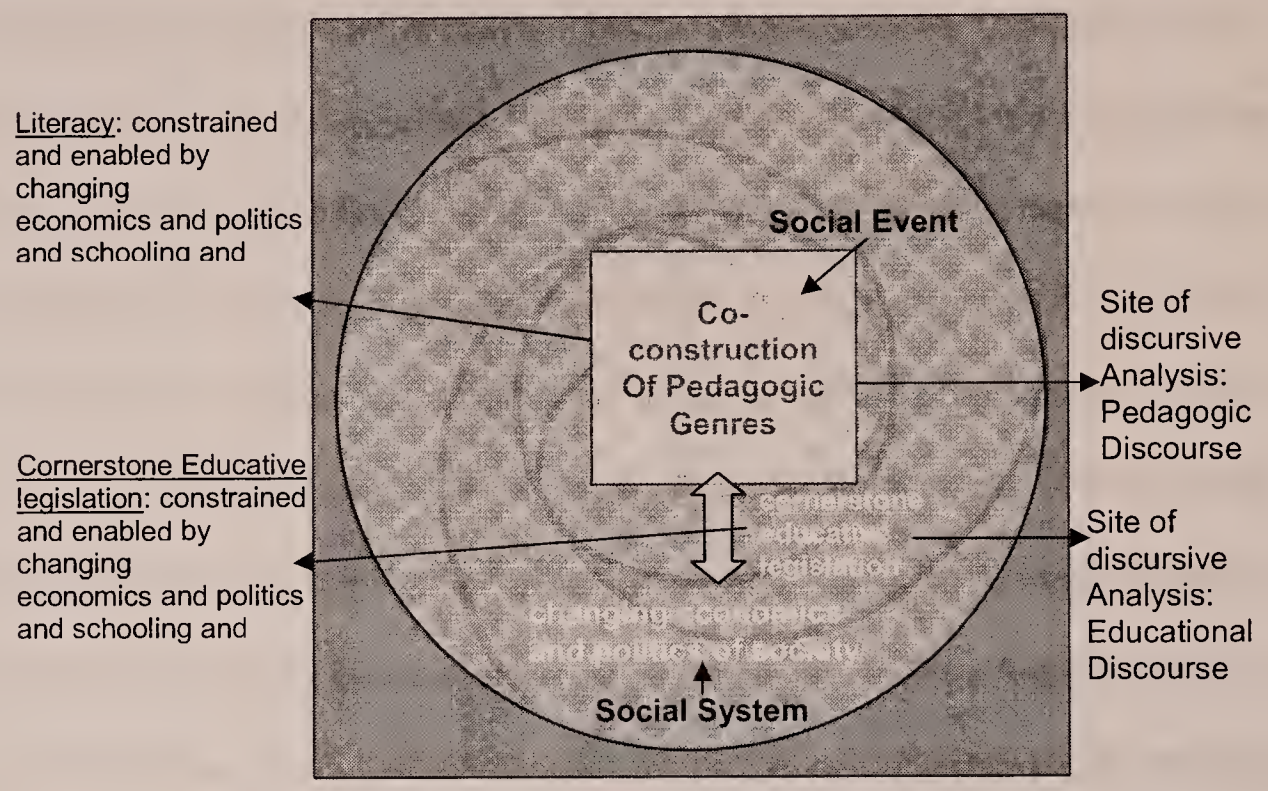


Figure 2. An Entry Point into Understanding the Sociopolitics of Literacy

Coming back to the first part of question one, if one is to study the sociopolitics of literacy, then a sociological definition of literacy is needed. As it was made clear in the review of literature, in this study literacy necessarily involves the analysis and critique of the relationships among texts and the sociocultural relationships they produce. This is essential as different and often competing and changing social and cultural interests and priorities shape over and over again the set of cultural practices (texts and relationships) that form its basis.

Project Design

The Theory-Method Linkage

Along with the definition of literacy, a project that seeks to study social change also needs to attend to language (see Fairclough, 1992). In fact, Bernstein insisted that a theory of language must have an important role in a theory of sociology. Bloome and Talwalkar point out that Critical Discourse Analysis has been increasingly used because it has emerged as a leading discipline merging text oriented discourse analysis (lexico-grammar) with a critical perspective on sociological discussions of society, culture and power at the same time that it has effectively developed a theory-method linkage absent in most sociological discussions of everyday life and language use as well as in sociological discussions of social dynamics (D. Bloome & Talwalkar, 1997). This is why, if studying literacy needs to incorporate analysis and critique of the relationships among texts and the sociocultural relationships they produce, CDA seems to fit right in with the study of texts that have shaped the sociopolitics of literacy in the last 25 years in USA.

As such then, CDA is important for exploring such part of question one because it focuses on questions of power, ideology and hegemony through a recursive exploration of text and context -e.g., local, institutional and societal domains- (Ramirez & Harman, 2007). This theory-method linkage framework is provided by Critical Discourse Studies which increasingly uses Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL). SFL was the tool used to analyze the discursive patterns of two of the most representative educational policy documents in the last 25 years, the "A Nation at Risk Report" and "The No Child Left Behind Act".

These documents were analyzed using three specific constructs: the notion of 'waves of information' (Martin and Rose 2003), technocratic discourse (Lemke, 1995; McKenna & Graham, 2000) and Intertextual Thematic Formations-ITF (Lemke, 1995). Before exploring these important constructs, it is important to briefly describe SFL and its relevance for providing the tools not only to explore the first part of the question in focus but because it is also important for the remaining part this question and many aspects of the second question.

As expressed before, fronting the discursive component of ideological formations supposes a theory of discourse; a theory of language. Scholars such as Jay Lemke, who use Systemic Functional Linguistics as their linguistic reference, understand discourses as representations of the world according to the 'thematic patterns' (Lemke, 1995) peculiar to the historically constituted worldviews of particular communities (P. Graham, 2001). SFL looks at language basically as a semiotic system in which meaning is made based on choices regulated by a) ideological assumptions (the values we hold, the biases we adopt), b) the genre (the staged, purposeful way in which people go about achieving purposes using language), and c) the register (context of situation, that is, the topic talked about, the role relations between those involved, and the medium used).

Within the SFL tradition, language is a system of meaning potential (Eggins, 1994; M. Halliday, 1994). As such, SFL gives priority to the paradigmatic relations in language (that is to the choices) and thus allows us to ask why, out of so many choices (paradigms), did a speaker make that choice and not another. Language as a system of choice has infinite combinations; however, because meaning is always situated and context-bound, such choices are always made finite and are regulated by ideology, genre,

and register. Building on the concept of 'existential paradigms' put forward by David Brazil, Michael McCarthy writes "In real situations, the selection of an item may be from only a small range of plausible alternatives or indeed may not represent a real choice at all" (McCarthy, 1998 p.70). This view of language is instrumental in challenging prescriptive and ideal notions of what is correct or not as it allows us to consider sociocultural variables (class, race, gender) that come into play when assigning value to certain linguistic choices over others. It is precisely to the issue of constructing and construing meanings and consent in texts that we turn now by exploring, technocratic discourse, Intertextual Thematic Formations, and 'waves of information'.

Technocratic Discourse and Intertextual Thematic Formations

Technocratic discourse is a type of discourse that makes use of a lot of rhetorical, syntactic, and lexico-grammar to pursue its agenda. It is highly hortatory (Fairclough, 2000b, 2003) or in Bakhtin' s terms, it is 'pre-eminently 'monological' discourse' (Lemke 1995: 60). Technocratic discourse, which has been specially studied as 'the discourse of globalization', resembles very closely the technical discourse of science and uses relatively few processes of direct action compared with abstract relations, nominalized processes frequently reified and used as agents in the place of human agents, and syntactical processes that often result from using agentless passive clause structures (Lemke 1995).

The ITF construct (Lemke, 1995) refers to the intertextually constituted thematic patterns that recur from text to text in slightly different wording, but [are] recognizably the same for all texts about a particular theme. That is, thematic patterns in different texts

constructed by similar agencies usually have the same characteristics and frequently cite each other in order to legitimize their claims. The construction of this circular logic ends up naturalizing thematic formations and making the texts and their assumptions impenetrable to common readers. I decided to focus on these two constructs because together they provide a focus into analyzing what in SFL theory is called the experiential or ideational metafunction of language, that is, the ideas the discourse is presenting and how language constructs these ideas. In Martin and Rose's words:

> Ideation focuses on the 'content' of a discourse: what kinds of activities are undertaken, and how participants in these activities are described, how they are classified and what are they composed of. Ideation is concerned with how our experience of 'reality', material and symbolic, is construed in discourse" (J. R. Martin & Rose, 2003).

Thus, in attempting to address question 1, I am specifically inquiring about the ideas that have been prevalent in educational discourse in the focal period, who participates, how, and with whom. As set up in the review of literature, this exploration is mainly about how the "experience" of globalization and neoliberalism is construed in discourse. Question 2 then, addresses the issue of how these issues penetrate the classroom; specifically, how they affects and regulate what is 'thinkable' and 'unthinkable' in the co-construction of pedagogic genres in the focal classroom articulated through the ever present tension between voice and message. A third construct, one that specifies how specific texts structure information intratextually as well as intertextually, is necessary at this point. Thematic and discursive formations are dependent upon the context (ideological, cultural, and situational) in which they appear. Thus, a look at the 'waves of information' in which they are located is necessary.

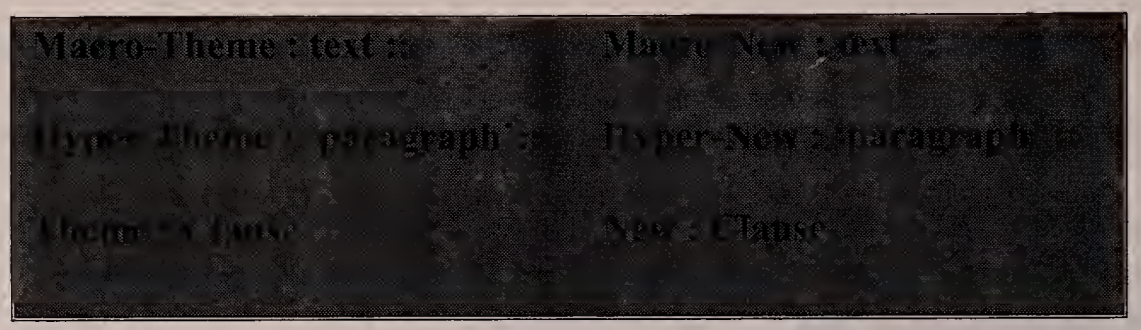
Waves of Information: Little Waves, Bigger Waves, and Tidal Waves

Relying on "waves of information" as a basic unit of textual analysis, Martin and Rose (2003) expand this unit (an important one in SFL) to a continuum of 'waves of information': little waves, bigger waves, and tidal waves. Martin and Rose explain the use of the term wave "to capture the sense in which moments of framing represent a peak of textual prominence, followed by a trough of lesser prominence" (ibid p. 176). The wave metaphor seeks to explain information flows, that is, the way in which meanings are packaged to make it easier for us to understand (i.e., by means of genre). The common use of the "sandwich" metaphor to explain the structure of a paragraph or a five paragraph essay, the way in which a cooking recipe is written, or the familiar suggestion for oral presentations to "tell the audience what you are going to talk about, talk about it, and repeat what you've just talked about" are clear indications of information flow and how these are packaged in a frequently recurring fashion that conforms with cultural patterns.

According to Martin and Rose, little waves of information pertain to the clause while bigger and tidal waves pertain to the paragraph and the text as a whole respectively. Each wave of information has a point of departure called *theme* and an expanding information about the theme called *New*. The theme "gives us an orientation to what is to come: our frame of reference as it were" (ibid p. 181), thus theme is prospective (J. R. Martin, 1993 p. 251). The new is information that accumulates as the text unfolds, thus it is retrospective (ibid p. 251). Theme and new at the clause level are usually represented by a word or a group of words. At the paragraph or whole text level, themes and news are clauses (or also group of words) and whole paragraphs respectively. Because themes and

news exist at different levels –clause, paragraphs, and texts- it seems necessary to label them differently to distinguish them from one another. Martin 1993 summarizes these labels and the level they correspond to as follows (where ':' means 'is to' and '::' means 'as').

Table 2. Waves of Information



The expansion of 'waves of information' into different levels is especially useful for large texts as the ones that are the focus of this study because it makes possible the thorough analysis of focal chunks of texts while not loosing perspective of what the text as a whole (or a section of the text) is trying to accomplish. In the findings section for example (Chapter V, part I under the heading (De)constructing Consensus), a Hyper-Theme / Hyper-New analysis of the first paragraph of the "A Nation at Risk Report" is presented as an illustration of this type of analysis.

A more thorough analysis of the rest of the text can be found in the first part of the findings. The 'waves of information' framework is used for an intratextual analysis of the A Nation at Risk report. Important traces of these textual waves appeared in the NCLB act text as well. What Martin and Rose's framework suggests for this study is that we could treat entire texts such as 'The a Nation at Risk" and the "No Child Left Behind Act" as pre-texts or Macro-News that play a constitutive role in the texts that are and can be produced in classrooms that are to follow the guidelines of the law. The accumulation of new information through recurring and repeated thematic patterns in these texts take

the text to a new point as they affect other texts substantially. This realization is later used to take a close look at the co-construction of pedagogic genres in the focal classroom.

That is, while Martin and Rose's framework is very helpful in terms of analyzing a text *intratextual*ly, it needs to be expanded *intertextually.* A graphic attempting to explain this expansion is followed by a detailed explanation of this.

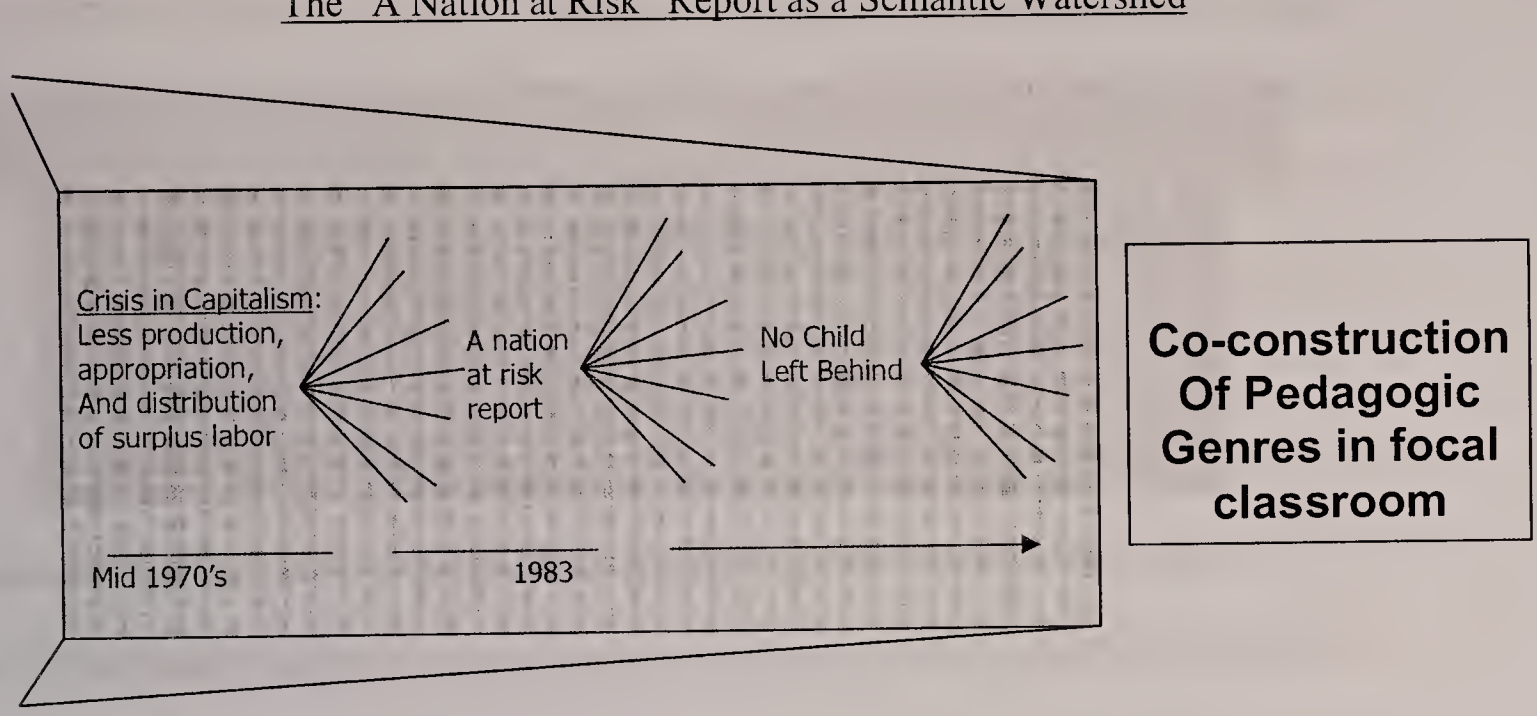


Figure 3. Semantic Watersheds and Intertextuality

not only a highly representative text of the era but it is treated as an important textual springboard contributing to the creation of the conditions, the 'mood', or motifs for recurrent themes produced and reproduced within different local, national and transnational contexts by different agents. This report is thus treated as a 'semantic watershed' (Butt, Lukin, & Matthiessen, 2004) causing a type of 'eco effect' not only in subsequent texts such as the No Child Left Behind Act, but more importantly in the pedagogic choices available in particular classrooms. The "textual snowballing" or

intertextual effect of the focus texts (A Nation at Risk report and the NCLB act) on other texts and on the co-construction of pedagogic genres in this study's focal classroom should be understood as focal points of analysis and not as claims of cause-effect correspondence.

If we are to incorporate this new insight into Martin and Rose's framework discussed above, it could be represented in the following table where again (':' means 'is to' and '::' means 'as').

Table 3. From Intratextual to Intertextual Analysis

INTER-THEME : INTERTEXT	INTER-NEW : INTERTEXT
Macro-Theme : text ::	Macro-New : text ::
Hyper-Theme : 'paragraph' ::	Hyper-New : 'paragraph' ::
Theme : Clause	New : Clause

Lemke (1995) insists that we interpret the meaning of what texts say in relation to different sets of intertexts (p.37) because 'we cannot make meaning outside the system of discourses in our community' (p. 38). He points out that if the meaning of any fragment of a text is defined to be the *contribution* of that fragment to the meaning of a larger unit, then we can see the 'pointlessness' in trying to circumscribe the 'meaning' of such fragments in isolation (p. 55). And he continues, "If we really want to read these two texts in relation to one another, to make them intertexts of one another, then we need to look to still wider cultural discourse formations". Ultimately, Lemke argues, we may concern ourselves with individual speakers, addresses, and sequences of social events, but we can USEFULLY do so ONLY in relation to the typical patterns of such things in

our communities. Who in these communities typically speaks and with what kind of goals? How are their agendas in conflict with the agendas of other communities? Who produces these texts and for whom? What are intended and unintended consequences of the appropriation of the ideas embodied in these discourses? This is how I understand Critical Discourse Analysis. This is what Lemke calls 'textual politics'.

The implications of this line of thought are far reaching and they belong to still 'wider cultural discourse formations' touching upon ontology (looking at how the world works) and epistemology (the theory of what thinking is). As Lemke implies, it is the analyst who 'make[s] them [texts] intertexts of one another'. That is, implied in Lemke's thinking is an idea that I already touched upon at the beginning of the literature review. It is the idea that all theory does (in this case theory about intertextual formations) is pick certain intertexts and talk about how those few the analyst looks at affect the phenomenon under study. In this sense, the "A Nation at Risk" report and the "No Child Left Behind" act are treated as intertexts (with specific inter-themes and inter-news) populating the ideational co-construction of pedagogic genres in the focal classroom. This of course is a partial and interested explanation. While I hope to shed light on the studied phenomenon, it nevertheless teaches a lot about me as explainer.

The analysis carried out in the finding sections utilizes groundbreaking concepts from SFL that are useful for identifying structural components of the two focal texts that are later important to highlight the intertextual construction of meaning through a focus on salient Intertextual thematic formations (ITF's) present in the A Nation at Risk Report and the No Child Left Behind Act. While the units of analysis at this macro level are

concerned with intratextual and intertextual features of the texts in question. It is necessary to spell out the units of analysis in the locus of the focus classroom.

Units of Analysis: From Intuition to Description

Following Gibbons 2006, I agree that both SLA and sociocultural theory have provided important insights for teaching (i.e., negotiation, comprehensible input and scaffolding, and Zone of proximal development respectively) and represent practices that many effective teachers perform intuitively. However, she continues, "if such practices are exemplified through instantiations in the classroom, and can be analyzed linguistically, then what constitutes these practices can be articulated more precisely." To this, I would add that it is essential to analyze these interactions in light of the broader social context in which they originate. The description of 'intuitive' behavior was exactly what teachers needed from Susan when they asked her for pedagogic counsel and guidance (see discussion in Chapter 3). Such task needs a specialized theory and cannot be left to popular observation (Butt et al., 2004). Such task concerns with the analysis of 'language in use' (D. Bloome, 2005) which treats language both as a system and as a resource, as enabling but also limiting choices. SFL serves such purpose at this micro level as well.

Macrogenres and Genres as Units of Analysis

Since SFL treats language as a meaning making system based on choices not only regulated by ideological assumptions but also by the genre (context of culture), and the register (context of situation) (J. R. Martin & Rose, 2003), it is then possible not only to look for ideological assumptions, but also to characterize and look for patterns within the

focal social practice (i.e., classroom lessons) using genre and register theory. Thus, while question 1 highlights the role of discourse outside of the locus of the classroom, question 2 narrows the inquiry towards the way pedagogic discourse is constructed and the perceived effects of this construction.

Macrogenres (Christie, 2002) are pedagogic units that are usually composed of an initiating genre, followed by a curriculum collaboration, and finally by a curriculum closure (Christie 2002). Several 'elemental' genres (narratives, recounts etc) form a larger Macrogenre unit. In this view, classroom oral texts are considered genres because they respond to *"staged, goal oriented, purposeful activity in which speakers engage as members of our culture"* (J. Martin, 1984). Thus, the notion of Macrogenre is similar to that of what traditionally is described as a curricular unit. This notion projects the image of *classroom as a structured activity* that can be thought out in terms of organizational structure and register features in much the same way as 'elemental' genres (i.e., recounts, reports, explanations etc.). While it is a truism to say that even in the most controlling environment teachers and students jointly construct this pedagogic Macrogenre as lessons unfold, it is of special interest in this study to focus on how this is done.

Macrogenres as units of analysis were important in this study as they put into perspective the analysis of micro interactions happening in a specific moment during an elementary genre. Its function is very similar, but at the pedagogic level, of the one already detailed from Martin and Rose's 'waves of information'. For example, the lack of student participation would mean different things if such lack of interaction is happening at different 'generic moments' of the lesson. Too much student participation during the first part of the lesson in which teachers typically explain the work to be done may be

disruptive and not as convenient. Conversely, lack of interaction during group work may show signs of misunderstanding or lack of motivation. Thus, the notion of classrooms as places in which pedagogic genres are enacted may shed light on the structure of instruction as patterns of usual curricular moves begin to emerge. The importance of Macrogenres is not only conceptual but also methodological. This later point will be elaborated in the next section that deals with data analysis.

As it should be obvious by now, this study uses a combination of theories and methodological tools from Sociocultural theory, Literacy Studies, and Critical Discourse Studies. These are different but complementary traditions as they give prominence to the material and social construction of context. Following these traditions, it is theorized that educational institutions in general, and the classroom in particular are ideological battlegrounds. This study focuses on how such battle is fought at the discursive level.

The use of multiple theory-method linkages reinforces the idea that the classroom is simultaneously affected by complex forces in different ways creating an intricate mesh that could not be explored by using exclusive approaches. The complexity of the approach mirrors the complex overdeterminants present in the current hegemonic political economy laid out in the review of literature and our present 'high stakes education' era (Lipman, 2004). Under these conditions, what is produced and distributed by distanced 'literacy sponsors'[22], and what is consumed and appropriated as well as the relationships it creates among those involved are overdetermined by many factors. These complex overdeterminants become less obscure as one adopts a multileveled kind of analysis that 'goes back and forth' between what the policies intend -their illocutionary

force, and what they really accomplish in the micro cosmos of the classroom -their perlocutionary force (D. Bloome, 2005).

The use of different tools for describing units.of analysis at the micro, and macro levels seek to develop a comprehensive and useful dialogue between discourse studies and literacy studies by incorporating Bernstein's theory of the pedagogic device and the social basis for language differentiation. These combined qualitative procedures seek to highlight the complex, multilayered, and even contradictory politics of what 'goes on' pedagogically in a classroom serving disadvantaged students under the new regulations of the No Child Left Behind act.

Data Analysis

As explained before, data collection was carried out during the entire academic year of 2005-2006 in a K-8 school classroom in Massachusetts serving 'at risk' students with high population of Latino and English Language Learners. The focus population was 10 pre-teenagers and teenagers and their teacher in a targeted self-contained intervention classroom serving struggling students from 6^{th}, 7^{th} and 8^{th} grade. Previous data sets (video, transcription, web material, e-memos from classes, lessons, Susan's presentations for ACCELA classes) collected during the partnership were used as background information. The bulk of the data analyzed comes from the videotapes, and field notes collected during class observations.

Emerging patterns were initially noted using Recursive Analysis (M. LeCompte & Preissle, 1993; M LeCompte & Schensul, 1999) which later served to identify critical moments related to the mutual pedagogic recontextualization of standards, high-stakes

testing, and the prescribed curriculum. Recursive analysis is frequently used in ethnography albeit with different labels[23] as a way to note inductive, interactive, and recursive processes and then build initial theories to explain behavior and beliefs under study (M LeCompte & Schensul, 1999).

In addition to the importance of this analysis for the identification of critical moments (Fairclough, 1992), recursive analysis was highly instrumental in identifying Macrogenres as focal units of analysis. Units of analysis must be countable, measurable or describable, locatable. They must also have a clear beginning and end. As LeCompte and Schensul 1999 make clear:

> …researchers need to define units of analysis in operational terms because they need to be able to identify discrete individuals (or units) from the given population for observation, questioning, and/or counting. (p. 118)

Once I identified the four Macrogenres that took place during the academic year, I focused on only two of them. As already explained, these two Macrogenres were chosen because a greater level of recontextualization of prescribed curriculum, and high-stakes testing was present[24]. In this sense then, it could be said that at this point the criteria for selection of this two Macrogenres was carried out by means of a "Bellwether or ideal case selection", that is, choosing a case or unit because it possesses all of the necessary components for program success or maximum presence of characteristics of interest to the researcher (M LeCompte & Schensul, 1999).

As I entered this stage of research, video recordings and digitalized data[25], was further coded using HyperRESEARCH, a qualitative data analysis software package in which it is possible to code and retrieve multiple modes of data (text, video, pictures), build theories, and conduct preliminary analyses. Initial codes gathered during the first

stage of the recursive analysis and that I will label as belonging to the general category of 'context of pedagogic ideas' were refined using genre and register theory. Genre theory not only allowed me to identify different 'generic moves' within a single lesson, but also different stages of the Macrogenre (i.e., curriculum initiation, curriculum negotiation, curriculum closure). Register theory was instrumental in identifying the 'context of situation' of the pedagogic text, that is, its field (what the text is about; its propositional content), the tenor (the relationships the text suggests in terms of power, contact, and affective involvement; its relational content), and the mode (the means of communication; the kind of text that is being made; its textual content)[26].

This arrangement and the analysis of generic moves or stages was facilitated by the software program mainly because it allowed for multiple and immediate correlation, retrieval and grouping of excerpts of data (in one or the other Macrogenre) with specific codes. This was important as for example all excerpts coded as 'initiation' could be retrieved for any or both of the Macrogenres. The final list of codes can be found in the appendices section. This stage of coding in which I focused on generic moves and Macrogenre stages will be labeled "context of classroom culture".

The third and last stage of data refinement was done to explore the 'lexico-grammar' that is, the specific linguistic instantiation of both 'the context of pedagogic ideas' and 'the context of classroom culture' in the locus of specific lessons. This is why this third context is labeled 'context of classroom situation'. Representative excerpts of both Macrogenres were selectively transcribed using HyperTranscribe, a program that is

highly compatible with and connects to HyperRESEARCH. The transcriptions were analyzed for its lexico-grammatical patterns using SFL, and more specifically, register theory.

It should be apparent that the three levels of coding and analysis were inspired by SFL. More specifically by Halliday's and Martin's framework (M. A. K. Halliday & Martin, 1993). This adaptation of SFL's theory on genre (context of culture) and register (context of situation) focuses on pedagogical ontogenesis (individual development of pedagogy). In this case, it focuses on Susan's 'pedagogic repertoire'. However, this is also an example of a claim common to Sociocultural theory and the social theory of Bernstein explored before: the reappearance of the cultural in the individual.

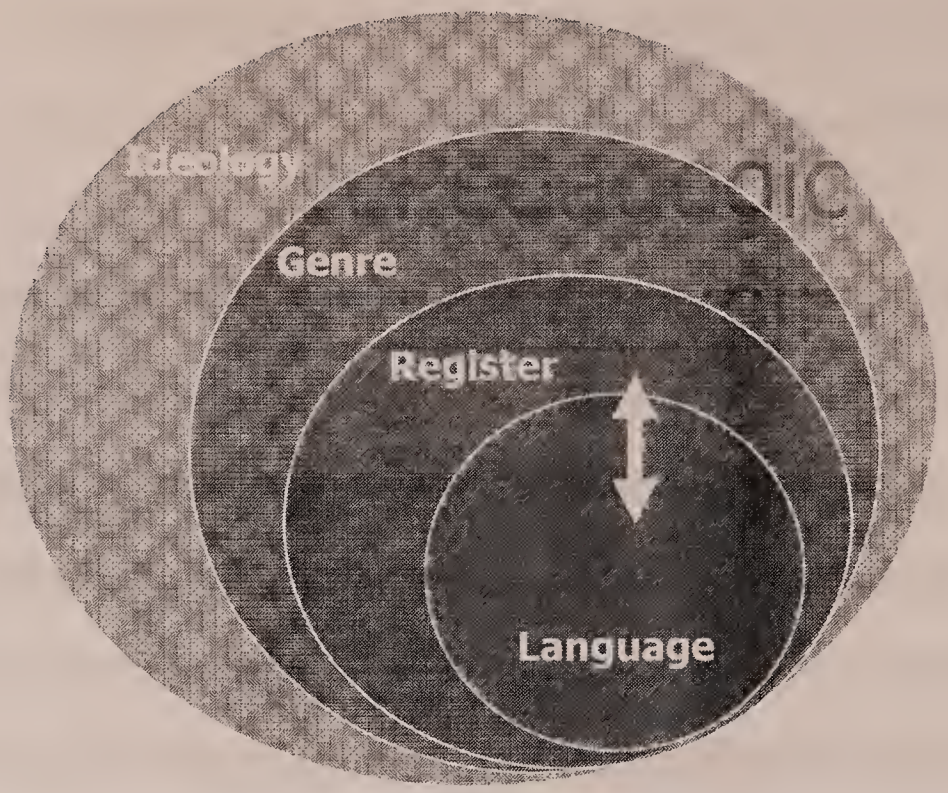
In this case, the cultural is represented by a 'pedagogic reservoir' associated with educational communities of practice and thought collectives of the profession (Ramanathan, 2002) especially as they relate to teaching academic literacy to English language learners. This 'pedagogic reservoir' reappears in Susan as a 'pedagogic repertoire' in part as a consequence of her own 'pedagogic ideology', and the genre and register contexts particular to her at the time of the study and in part as a consequence of the reappearance of the broader cultural (ideology, genre, register) variables in her own recontextualized pedagogic practice in the classroom under study. Below is an attempt to graphically represent how the cultural pedagogic, that is, the pedagogic reservoir, reappears in the individual pedagogic –the pedagogic repertoire. The graphic also shows the theory-method linkage already explained in detail above.

Assumptions and Limitations of the Study

Assumptions

A basic assumption that is linked to the Systemic Functional Linguistics approach I adopt is the idea that language is structured as it is because of the function it seeks to perform. Along these lines, this study assumes that teachers and learners make meaning and seek to do so as they strive to succeed in their respective academic functions. Further, and taking the stance of qualitative research, this study assumes a research position that stresses the impossibility of separating the knower from the known and privileges the use of small samples to reach non-generalizable conclusions (see (Hamel, Dufour, & Fortin, 1993; Myers, 2000). This impossibility of reaching absolute truths implies an overdeterminist perspective that explores an issue from a specific "entry point" hoping not to produce an all encompassing dogmatic truth but to shed light on the studied phenomenon without claiming a total knowledge of the object of study.

The specific strand of qualitative research adopted here, critical ethnography, further assumes that current society is unfair and subtly and overtly oppressive especially for underrepresented groups. Therefore, one important goal of this kind of study is to contribute to make visible and change and/or challenge such inequities. In the case of this study, such challenge takes form in the detailed description of a teacher's pedagogical



The Cultural Pedagogic (Pedagogic Reservoir) REAPPEARS…
in the individual (Pedagogic Repertoire)

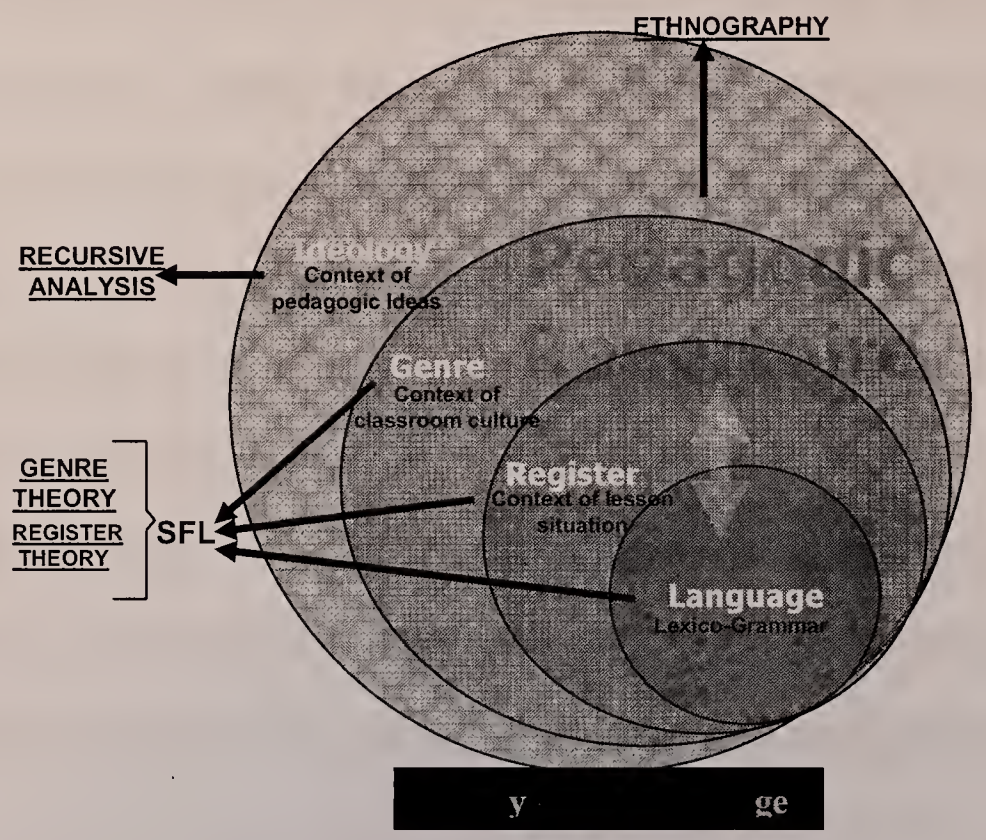


Figure 4. Reappearance of the Cultural Pedagogic in the Individual Pedagogic

ontogenesis (individual development of pedagogy) and in its recontextualization and enhancement of top-down curricular mandates.

Limitations

As it should be true for every research endeavor, the observations and analysis stemming from this study should be considered as hypothesis for further exploration and research. This is so because observations on schools with populations who are not labeled at -risk, low-performing, and/or low-income were not conducted. This limitation opens up a research agenda that could be pursued in other studies and that I will reference at the end of this section. Thus, rather than focusing on different sites, this study was limited to only analyze in detail one site and provided just a glimpse into the co-construction of pedagogic genres in the focal classroom with at risk, low-performing, low-income students. As such, the description of the focal teacher's 'Pedagogic Repertoire' cannot (and is not aimed at) sufficiently present a picture of the pedagogic practices of all struggling readers' teachers in the United States. Rather, what this co-construction of pedagogic genres highlights is the language of possibility that is opened up when a teacher 'Strategically Aligns' seeking to build a nurturing and culturally relevant academic environment for English Language Learners through a pedagogic practice that is purposeful, goal-oriented, and staged. In other words, what is highlighted is the realization of Maxine Greene's vision for hope, that is, the ability to imagine otherwise and not an attempt to make sweeping generalizations about how every ELL teacher organizes and delivers instruction in the so called 'high-stakes education era'.

Finally, another limitation of the study concerns the limiting amount of texts that were chosen for the Critical Discourse Analysis conducted. The two focal texts chosen were the "A Nation at Risk Report" and the "No Child Left Behind Act". Rather than

considering them as all encompassing of what happened in terms of educational reform in the last three decades in the United States, these texts are used as 'linguistic entry points' to anchor the discussion around the assertion that these reforms represent a neoliberal frame of reference for educational reform in the USA. While the kind of approach that combines social theory with discourse has been gaining momentum recently as part of the 'social turn' in traditionally mentalistic disciplines (i.e., Second language acquisition), it needs to be developed much more. That is, because of the traditional hardships associated with the difficulty of trying to combine social theory and discourse analysis to shed light on the on-going procedures in a classroom, the selection of such texts should be taken with caution and should be complemented with the detailed analysis of other texts with similar purposes and characteristics.

Coming back to the issue of how the unavailability of observations on schools with populations who are not labeled at -risk, low-performing, and/or low-income opens up possibilities for further research, the obvious path to follow seems to be a comparison among pedagogic practice of experienced teachers in different sites following similar guidelines for this study. A comparison I talk about would follow Bernstein's theorization of the pedagogic device on how the distributive rules regulate the power relationships between social groups by distributing knowledge *differentially* among social groups.

This research extension may seek to specifically analyze the distributive conditions as well as the linguistic realization of production of discursive practices (recontextualization) and the effects on the reproduction or disruption of traditional social positionings available in each site. Such a study can definitely build up on the one

presented here as it could draw comparisons now only with other social classes but also cultures and backgrounds.

CHAPTER 5

FINDINGS

Part 1. Building Objectivity Interdiscursively: The A Nation at Risk Report as a "Semantic Watershed" for Current Educational Reform in United States

Introduction: From the ANAR Report to the NCLB Act

Educational reform in the United States in the last three decades (and perhaps even before) has pervasively relied on a crisis framework to produce discourses about urgent social change and action. Some important "assemble of relations" (Gramsci, 1971) that have contributed to this phenomenon are worth revisiting. As it was explained in the review of literature, a little more than three decades ago, the U.S. saw how its global advantage that began after World War II during the so called 'golden era of capitalism' was either nonexistent or dramatically reduced. Under the emergent neoliberal approach of the mid 70's, a reduction in the production, appropriation, and distribution of surplus in capitalist U.S. was conceptualized as a crisis that needed to be resolved.

The idea of social crisis has been an all-pervasive metaphor in current times that has drawn on older aesthetic and medical uses (Holton, 1987). In drama for example, crisis is a moment in which a character finds herself in front of a dilemma to resolve. In medicine, crisis refers to a key stage of an illness which is decisive to the future. Thus, the crisis also needs to be resolved. When these discourses enter social events, they are often used to describe a social pathology that is unacceptable and must be resolved. It is in this sense that the use of crisis is "embedded in discourses about social change and debates about appropriate forms of political action" (ibid., p. 4).

Under the emergent dominant neoliberal approach, "appropriate" forms of change and political action to resolve the risk focused on the restructuring of public institutions in general with special attention to public schooling. The so called "Excellence Movement" in the 80's and 90's galvanized by the publication and wide dissemination of the "A Nation at Risk" report was significantly responsible for the abundance of such materials and the spread of the idea of a 'crusade to save our country's educational system' was necessary if the U.S. was to compete at a global level.

Similar to the widespread use of the crisis framework in modern times just rerferenced above, education as the focal social event is described in the ANAR report in strong negative ways:

> If an unfriendly foreign power had attempted to impose on America the mediocre educational performance that exists today, we might well have viewed it as an act of war.

This is how in its last words, this report depicts US citizens as being dismayed at the "steady 15-year decline in industrial productivity, as one great American industry after another falls to world competition" and mentions a Gallup poll showing citizens' support for the country to act on the belief "that education should be at the top of the Nation's agenda". Thus, and despite the report's apparent liberal values of a fair chance "regardless of race or class or economic status" (p. 1) and "reform of our educational system for the benefit of all--old and young alike, affluent and poor, majority and minority" (p.1), it nevertheless frames learning and education as a 'human investment' or as an "indispensable investment required for success in the "information age" we are entering" (p. 3).

As such, the mediocre educational performance is constructed as a social pathology that will be resolved "if the people of our country, together with those who have public responsibility in the matter, care enough and are courageous enough to do what is required" (p. 1). 'What is required' is summarized in recommendations regarding content, standards and expectations, time, teaching, and leadership and fiscal support. At the time of the report, many of them had the status of recommendations. However, the influence of the report can be seen, if nothing else, in the fact that many of the recommendations became law under the No Child Left Behind act.

In what follows in this section, I will use linguistic tools from Systemic Functional Linguistics and corpus linguistics to demonstrate how the crisis framework is instantiated and reproduced in the A Nation at Risk report and how it is later taken up and assumed in the NCLB act. The status of 'semantic watershed' assigned to the ANAR report in this study rests upon several layers of analysis. All of them within the framework of SFL already detailed in the methodology section. The first of these concerns with the purpose of the text (its genre, what it intends to do) as contextualized by the cultural patterns in which it comes to be. Specifically, I will present a multileveled analysis of the "A Nation at Risk" that seeks to lay the groundwork to demonstrate the intertextual influence of such report on the "No Child Left Behind" act. The level of detail will increase as the analysis moves into closer characteristics of the texts.

The Genre of A Nation at Risk: Context of Culture

Just as it is the case with any text, the ANAR report and the NCLB act are packed in genres that are structured with the intention to fulfill a purpose. Genres are patterns of meaning that are relatively consistent in a culture. They are social processes that are staged and goal-oriented (Martin and Rose 2003 p. 7).

The term 'report' is used in everyday language to principally refer to different types of factual texts. Some examples are news reports, science reports, and weather reports. Their main function is to document, organize, and store factual information on a topic (Derewianka, 2000). Publicly known simply as a report, the "A Nation at Risk" text is not alien to this factual connotation and carries all the strength associated with reliance on "objectivity" dominant in modern western society. This same strength in valued assumptions on objectivity is also built in lexically. This claim will be addressed after the genre analysis.

The genre of any text is a complex issue to determine. This is so, among other things, because any text may include a deliberate or unconscious mixture of genres. In this analysis, the texts are analyzed *against what the authors of the texts say about them.* This will guarantee that already established cultural patterns about genre are not imposed and are only used on the basis of what the authors of the texts have said about their own manuscript.

The A Nation at Risk is not only widely known as a report by the public. In fact, the authors of the text acknowledge and repeatedly refer to it as such. Report is mentioned 19 times in the text to refer to the kind of text it is. Reports are typically introduced by an opening general statement that locates what is being talked about. The

rest of the report consists of facts about various aspects of the subject which are grouped into topic areas and which are organized through paragraphing, subheadings or other graphic devices. Although reports usually do not contain an ending, sometimes the shared information is rounded off by some general statement about the topic (Derewianka, 2000). The A Nation at Risk report is a nuanced text and although it shows features of a report, it also features characteristics of other genres.

As a general rule when determining the genre of a text, it is imperative to identify what it intends to do; its purpose. According to the report writers, members of the National Commission on Excellence in Education, the purpose of the report is to "to help define the problems afflicting American education and to provide solutions" (p. II). The purpose of the A Nation at Risk text is 'packaged' into a report. This is intentionally so and serves its goal as the public recognize it as such. This intentionality should be highlighted as the argument could have been presented in many other forms (i.e., a letter, a discussion, conference proceedings etc.). Viewed in this way, the text can be seen as an argument with a thesis, supporting evidence, and a summing up of a position (which could include recommendations) as well as a factual report intended to document, organize, and store factual information on a topic.

With this in mind, a generic analysis of the text is presented. Because of the presence of an introduction in the report (a feature that is atypical both to reports and arguments) this part of the text is analyzed separately. For the rest of the text, rather than assigning generic names to each of the text's phases, a more functional label is presented along with a brief description of the purpose. Due to space constraints, only the first sentence of the respective section is written.

(De)constructing Consensus: The Introduction of ANAR

Introductions are not typical of information reports, but they are typical in governmental educational policy texts. Introductions in these contexts may also be labeled statement of problem or justification. A quick look at the governmental documents in education in the last ten years, including the No Child Left Behind[27], confirms this appreciation. As with most introductions, the purpose of this section is to give an account of what can be expected in the text as well as to explain the motivation for the creation of the text. In the specific case of the report, such motivation is summarized as attending to the Secretary's concern about "The widespread public perception that something is seriously remiss in our educational system" (p. 1).

As it can be recalled from the literature review and coming back to the motivation for the creation of the A Nation at Risk report, such 'inattention' cannot be explained solely by attending to the educational system. In fact, there is ample evidence that challenges such an assertion and that suggest instead that a crisis is not only created as a diversion but that the crisis in education argument has been used prevalently in other parts of the world (Thomas, 2003) and that the educational attainment of US schools compares favorably with many developed countries (Bracey, 2003). For example, looking closely at the TIMMS study (Trends in International Mathematics and Science), Bracey 2007 found that successful academic achievement is particularly so for schools that serve low levels of students in poverty (about 10%). However, schools that serve high levels of students in poverty (75% or more) ranked significantly lower. Under this lens, low achievement is clearly correlated with poverty and not to the supposed 'crisis' and 'mediocrity' of the entire public school system that gave impetus to the ANAR report.

Thus, if we are serious about changing our schools, perhaps a change in the class structure of communities may be needed first.

The motivation behind writing a report based on concern and public perception of educational crisis implies fear. Fear is a powerful feeling. The 'discourse of fear' in the public mind of Americans has increased in the 1990's (Altheide, 2002) and has reached unprecedented levels as 'terror spectacles' directly associated with the tragic events of September 11, 2001 have been manipulated to promote political agendas (Kellner, 2004). As a political strategy, the A Nation at Risk report is written based on a presumption of crisis and solicits the "support for all who care about our future". (p. 1). Support, participation and consensus are acknowledged throughout the report and especially in the last paragraph of the introduction.

> The Commission was impressed during the course of its activities by the diversity of opinion it received regarding the condition of American education and by conflicting views about what should be done. In many ways, the membership of the Commission reflected that diversity and difference of opinion during the course of its work. THIS REPORT NEVERTHELESS, GIVES EVIDENCE THAT MEN AND WOMEN OF GOOD WILL CAN AGREE ON COMMON GOALS AND ON WAYS TO PURSUE THEM. (My emphasis p. 3)

A brief Hyper-Theme / Hyper-New analysis of this paragraph reveals how the starting point of this paragraph (its Hyper-Theme) was the 'diversity of opinion' and 'conflicting views' the commission received. The Hyper-New (and thus what is foregrounded) reveals a 'resolution' of such diverging pattern as common goals and ways to pursue them were arrived at by 'men and women of good will'. Thus, while there is an acknowledgement of the existence of lack of consensus (Hyper-Theme), the new and more relevant information for the rest of the report is that of consensus (Hyper-New).

Thus, as the last of the introduction, this paragraph sets the stage for the rest of the report in many ways. One important way is that while it acknowledges diversity and difference of opinion, the report is nevertheless evidence that different people can agree on common issues and solutions. It is interesting to note at this point that the NCLB act also recurs to the notion of consensus (see conclusion) by referring to the fact that the debate started by the A Nation of Risk report is no longer a debate but a consensus. It should be highlighted that both texts have a very peculiar way of excluding divergence and conflict. This peculiarity is accomplished through textual moves imperceptible to casual readers. While they both acknowledge divergence and difference, in the end, agreement and unification is foregrounded and ends up affecting the content of the rest of the text. As shown here with the case of the ANAR report, such backgrounding / foregrounding play is revealed through the theme/new conceptualizations set forth.

Based on this representative linguistic data and in the specific case with the paragraph from the ANAR report and its strategic location in the text, we can conclude that the focal texts under analysis choose to build consensus and are structured to explicitly include rather than to exclude. When exclusion is an option, it is not explicit, it is often a non-desirable one and one that is in need of a well-informed active reader or a person who has experienced consequences of the law firsthand. These are all conditions for textual interpellation and although they will be addressed in the next section, it is worth illustrating briefly.

These are conditions for interpellation because for the majority of people opposing the idea of leaving no children behind is not only undesirable but needs a considerate knowledge of the inadequacy of a reform proposing to leave no children

behind. For example, when asked about the NCLB, a former superintendent compared the NCLB act to a Russian novel: "It's long, it's complicated, and in the end everybody gets killed" (Time Magazine May 2007). Such an assessment needs a highly literate person who is more than simply acquainted with Russian literature and with the NCLB act.

Similarly, looking closely at the paragraph reproduced above from the ANAR report, one realizes that opposing or conflicting with 'the goals and ways to pursue them' or the 'evidence' of the report positions the reader as not someone 'who cares about our future' or not 'of good will'. The text is crafted in certain ways to ensure particular interpretations and affect ideological alignment (Rogers, 2004). Oppositions to such assertions are of course a possibility but their open embracement is severely restricted to the great majority ideologically and textually. Ideologically by appealing to 'common sense' and to what is 'politically correct' or correspond to most accepted cultural patterns. Textually by either reducing the options sometimes to an either or relation or by packing or condensing of a lot of assumed information into dense strings of abstract terms (i.e., all who care about our future, men and women of good will) that function to create the attitudinal stance of the text (its appraisal system)[28]. Once the consensual attitude is successfully crafted, the rest of the report builds upon such assumption. A close genre analysis of the rest of the report follows.

Generic Interpellation: The Body of the ANAR Report

Before spelling out the generic structure of the whole ANAR report, it should be noted that due to space restrictions only the first sentence of the identified section is

reproduced. Because of the importance of the findings and recommendations section for later arguments, this restriction was somewhat less strict in these sections.

OPENING GENERAL STATEMENT/THESIS

A Nation at Risk

Our Nation is at Risk

ARGUMENT 1

"the risk"
History is not kind to idlers

"indicators of the risk"
The educational dimensions of the risk before us have been amply documented in testimony received by the Commission

"hope and frustration"
Statistics and their interpretation by experts show only the surface dimension of the difficulties we face.

"excellence in education"
We define "excellence" to mean several related things.

ARGUMENT 2

"the learning society"
In a world of ever-accelerating competition and change in the conditions of the workplace, of ever-greater danger, and of ever-larger opportunities for those prepared to meet them, educational reform should focus on the goal of creating a Learning Society.

ARGUMENT 3

"the tools at hand"
It is our conviction that the essential raw materials needed to reform our educational system are waiting to be mobilized through effective leadership:

"the public's commitment"
Of all the tools at hand, the public's support for education is the most powerful.

FINDINGS

We conclude that declines in educational performance are in large part the result of disturbing inadequacies in the way the educational process itself is often conducted.

Figure 5. A Nation at Risk Commentary

Continued, next page.

Figure 5, Cont'd.:

FINDINGS

We conclude that declines in educational performance are in large part the result of disturbing inadequacies in the way the educational process itself is often conducted.

"regarding content"

By content we mean the very "stuff" of education, the curriculum.

"regarding expectations"

We define expectations in terms of the level of knowledge, abilities, and skills school and college graduates should possess.

"regarding time"

Evidence presented to the Commission demonstrates three disturbing facts about the use that American schools and students make of time: (1) compared to other nations, American students spend much less time on school work; (2) time spent in the classroom and on homework is often used ineffectively; and (3) schools are not doing enough to help students develop either the study skills required to use time well or the willingness to spend more time on school work.

"regarding teaching"

The Commission found that not enough of the academically able students are being attracted to teaching; that teacher preparation programs need substantial improvement; that the professional working life of teachers is on the whole unacceptable; and that a serious shortage of teachers exists in key fields.

RECOMMENDATIONS

In light of the urgent need for improvement, both immediate and long term, this Commission has agreed on a set of recommendations that the American people can begin to act on now, that can be implemented over the next several years, and that promise lasting reform.

"content"

***We recommend** that State and local high school graduation requirements be strengthened and that, at a minimum, all students seeking a diploma be required to lay the foundations in the Five New Basics by taking the following curriculum during their 4 years of high school: (a) 4 years of English; (b) 3 years of mathematics; (c) 3 years of science; (d) 3 years of social studies; and (e) one-half year of computer science. For the college-bound, 2 years of foreign language in high school are strongly recommended in addition to those taken earlier.*

Continued, next page.

Figure 5, Cont'd.:

"content"
We recommend *that State and local high school graduation requirements be strengthened and that, at a minimum, all students seeking a diploma be required to lay the foundations in the Five New Basics by taking the following curriculum during their 4 years of high school: (a) 4 years of English; (b) 3 years of mathematics; (c) 3 years of science; (d) 3 years of social studies; and (e) one-half year of computer science. For the college-bound, 2 years of foreign language in high school are strongly recommended in addition to those taken earlier.*

"Standards* and expectations"
We recommend *that schools, colleges, and universities adopt more rigorous and measurable standards, and higher expectations, for academic performance and student conduct, and that 4-year colleges and universities raise their requirements for admission. This will help students do their best educationally with challenging materials in an environment that supports learning and authentic accomplishment.*

"time"
We recommend *that significantly more time be devoted to learning the New Basics. This will require more effective use of the existing school day, a longer school day, or a lengthened school year.*

"teaching"
This recommendation *consists of seven parts.*

"leadership and fiscal support*"
We recommend that citizens across the Nation hold educators and elected officials responsible for providing the leadership necessary to achieve these reforms, and that citizens provide the fiscal support and stability required to bring about the reforms we propose.

POSTSCRIPT

"america can do it"
Despite the obstacles and difficulties that inhibit the pursuit of superior educational attainment, we are confident, with history as our guide, that we can meet our goal.

"a word to parents and students"
The task of assuring the success of our recommendations does not fall to the schools and colleges alone.

Although initially labeled and recognized as a report, the genre analysis conducted here reveals that the ANAR report is more accurately described as an argumentative report. The purposeful labeling of the text as a report creates expectations

in terms of its *generic structure potential* that are in fact not realized in its *actual generic structure (*Hasan 1985a as cited in Eggins 1994 p. 41). Expositions or arguments are processes that involve reasoning, evaluation and persuasion and are often multi-generic as they draw upon a range of genres (Knapp & Watkins, 2005). Typically, arguments follow the sequence THESIS>ARGUMENT (1, 2, ETC) > CONCLUSION. Looking at the structure of the report, we notice the structure INTRODUCTION > THESIS > ARGUMENT 1, 2, AND 3 > CONCLUSION > POSTCRIPT. Reports do not typically include a conclusion but they may include recommendations (see Derewianka, 2000 p. 77). The A Nation at Risk report's conclusion is realized by the findings and the recommendations. In fact, the first sentence in the findings section of the report ("We conclude that…") gives a strong indication that this is in fact the case.

The Postscript seems to function as a way to soften the direct and highly critical tone of the report by acknowledging strengths and addressing parents and students directly. It looks 'retrospectively' to the text but does not function as a Macro-New because it does not take the text to an entirely new place. Rather, it is an attempt to include all, namely, America, parents, and students. Because such postscript seems to be particular of the report in question, no further analysis will be carried out.

Although the ANAR report is presented as a report by its writers and is treated as such by the literature (its illocutionary and perlocutionary force), genre analysis reveals that both its presentation and its reception as a report is deceiving. This is so because as an argumentative report, the text is less associated with facts and more with arguments. This is significant because as such, the text necessarily reflects the opinions, ideology, and interests of those who author it. Dressed up with the (in)fallible veil of objectivity

and research (a macro theme that is explicitly embraced in the No Child Left Behind Act), arguments were selected and woven together in a fashion that provides an ideological façade associated with a genre with more prestige in the culture it originates. The genre of report serves as an illusion that works as a logical bridge between arguments and an 'objective' world out there. When such attempt is successful and such a big generic leap is not captured by the general public, we are witnessing massive 'generic interpellation' (disguising a less privileged genre into another i.e. an opinion into a report).

Theme-New Analysis of the A Nation at Risk Report

The following analysis is based on the theme/new concept illustrated by the metaphor of 'waves of information' (Martin and Rose 2003) already explained in the methodology section and just exemplified in the (De)constructing Consensus section. A gesture, a song, a clause, a paragraph, and even a whole text (or a whole concert!) is treated here as an individual 'semiotic repertoire' constitutive of the total meaning potential or 'semiotic reservoir' of a culture. As such then, any of these semiotic expressions mentioned above is simultaneously retrospective and prospective. Retrospectively, it selectively attends to what has preceded it. Prospectively, it helps expand the semiotic reservoir of the culture in which it belongs. In light of these ideas and to reiterate a point already made in the methodology section, entire texts such as 'The a Nation at Risk" and the "No Child Left Behind Act" could be treated as pre-texts or Macro-News playing a constitutive role in the creation of new texts. Following Lemke (1995), new texts can be analyzed intertextually by looking retrospectively to other texts instead of treating them as a self-contained textual unit. For this, we need to go from

'tidal waves' within the same textual ocean (text) to 'interoceanic' waves that contemplate the presence of some waves and patterns in a new ocean (text).

'Interoceanic waves': Extending the Flow of Information to Uncover Intertextual Links

Coming back to the expansion of Martin and Rose's framework to account for intertextual relations (already introduced in the methodology section), the notion of inter-themes/inter-news can be seen related to intertexts in the following table where again (':' means 'is to' and '::' means 'as').

Table 4. Interoceanic Waves of Information

INTER-THEME : INTERTEXT	INTER-NEW : INTERTEXT
Macro-Theme : text ::	Macro-New : text ::
Hyper-Theme : 'paragraph' ::	Hyper-New : 'paragraph' ::
Theme : Clause	New : Clause

Inter-themes are defined as the collection of two or more Macro-themes that predict similar hyper-themes within specific texts. Inter-news are defined as the collection of two or more similar Macro-News that take different texts to a new but shared point. When the analyst identifies two or more similar inter-themes or inter-news in different texts, s/he is making them 'intertexts of one another' (Lemke 1995 p. 55).

A quick and reliable way to analyze inter-themes dealing with the A Nation at Risk report text is by looking at the titles of the 'commissioned papers' directly

referenced in the report and commissioned by the same members of the excellence in education commission. This way to analyze inter-themes is quick because a title usually serves the function of a macro-theme which in turns predicts hyper-themes. It is reliable in this case because it is not the analyst who is making these texts intertexts of each other. The authors of the report are the ones pointing to the commissioned papers and thus making them intertexts of each other. In fact, the commissioned papers served a central purpose in the report as their data was used to document the report. This is despite the lack of citations for the numerous statistics used as evidence of the low quality of American schools (Berliner & Biddle, 1995) and despite the fact that these papers were not peer reviewed and were often presented in the form of opinion (Aldridge, 1993). Further evidence of this is presented in the following lists which are composites of all the themes of all the titles from the commissioned papers.

All the titles of the commissioned papers were subjected to an SFL participant analysis which resulted in specific themes suggested by the very experiential meaning of the participants and the associated participant roles. The first list, labeled kind of text, shows the variety of text types that are used in the commissioned papers. These text types are present in the title of the commissioned papers and thus are the author(s) words. These themes are categorized in a continuum of text types that go from "Research" to "Other Related Matters." This continuum arguably represents a continuum of 'academic merit' and goes from most structured and specific to less structured and specific. Some may even read these as from most valued to less valued but such a generalization will not be attempted here.

KIND OF TEXT
A Research
A Study
A Cross-National Perspective
International Studies
Comparative Analysis
Issue Analysis
An Analytic Comparison
An Historical Assessment
A Comparative Review
Comparative Perspective
A Review of IEA Evidence
A Review
Review
A Review
A An Historical [Perspective]
An Overview
A Critique
Survey
Summary Report
Implications for Educational Policy
Implications
Impacts
Perceptions
A Practitioner's Reaction
Recommendations
Some Descriptive and Explanatory Statements
Some Ideas
An Interpretation
A Little Light on the Subject Background
Other Related Matters(2)

Figure 6. Kind of Text

As can be seen from a quick look at the specific themes, there is a wide range of how the authors of the commissioned papers decided to label them in terms of type of text and the purpose associated with them. This variety ranges from specific and often structured forms such as 'comparative reviews' or 'summary reports' to the less specific and unstructured 'perceptions' or 'A little light on the subject background." This simple analysis is revealing because it means that the macro-theme in question (Our Nation is at

Risk) was built so based not only on research, studies, and reviews (assuming that such texts are valid and rigorous) but also based on much less structured and rigorous texts such as overviews, ideas, and interpretations. A further classification of other themes present in the titles of the commissioned papers reveal six categories, namely, scope of analysis, schools, education and schooling goals, individuals, educators, and what matters. A list of the categories and the related items can be found below (see Figure 7).

SCOPE OF ANALYSIS
Selected Foreign Countries / Other Developed Countries / Policy and Practice in Industralized Countries / Five Countries America / America / the United States / U.S./ the Soviet Union / American Education (2) / Educational Systems of the United States / [Educational] Practice / Educational Systems / General [education] Liberal Education
University Entrance Examinations College Admissions The American Freshman New Students in Higher Education Community Colleges The Secondary School-College Connection Transition to Postsecondary Education Secondary Public Schools, Secondary Schools High School Transcripts The Years Between Elementary School and High School Grades K-6

Figure 7. Categories and Related Items

Continued, next page.

Figure 7, Cont'd.:

SCHOOLS
Schools / Schooling /School District
Demographic Change
School Demands
Standards (2)
Academic Requirements
Curriculum (3)
Schooling Experiences
Practices
Time
Content
Expectations
Study Skills Instruction

EDUCATION AND SCHOOLING GOALS
Achievement (2)
School Achievement (2)
Excellence / Educational Excellence (2)
Time on Task
Performance Expectations
Science Education
Mathematics
The Message for Secondary Schools
Values Learned in School
A Lifelong Perspective
Academic Work
Quantity and Quality of Academic Work
Performance
Equity
Value Added

INDIVIDUALS / STUDENTS
Predictors / Student Cognition / Motivation (2) / Motivational Factors / Motivating Students / Work / Student Fit / Quality of Student Effort / Intelligence / Learning of Students /Understanding Intelligence / The Changing American Child / Assessing the Quality of Learning /

Continued, next page.

Figure 7, Cont'd.:

EDUCATORS
Preservice Teacher Education / Certification / Accreditation / Schools of Teacher Education / The Faculty Role / "Inservice Education / The Perspective of Educators /Educators

WHAT MATTERS
Effective Schools Research / Research / Practice / Methods for Improvement/ Adoption of Effective Schools Programs /

As the backbone of the ANAR report, the above mentioned themes present in the commissioned papers were important constituents in the final ANAR report. Because of the kind of macro-themes and macro-news that the report promotes (see next section), it is reasonable to say that we know a whole lot about the commissioned papers as well. This is so not only because the members of the commission for Excellence in education used these papers to shape the report, but because the macro-themes and macro-news of the ANAR are what they are because they looked retrospectively at the papers and made 'risk' a macro-theme for the ANAR report. It could be said then that the ANAR report's Macro-theme which will be identified in the following section (*Our Nation is at Risk*) is formed retrospectively based on the commissioned papers. The fact that the combined Macro-News of these commissioned papers gave shape to this influential report gives further evidence of the importance of accounting for themes and news not only intratextually but also *intertextually*.

Before attempting to further relate intertextually the ANAR report and the NCLB act, it is worth noting once more that the intertextual application of textual prospectivity and retrospectivity has been arrived at via the Martin and Rose's framework. The explicit

addition of the inter-theme, inter-new and intertexts concepts are pivotal to this endeavor. Before using such conceptualization to explore how the ANAR report and the NCLB act connect intertextually with each other, it is first necessary to concentrate on the close intratextual analysis of the ANAR report.

Intratextual Analysis of the ANAR Report

Just as in the methodology section, when a theme/new and hyper-theme/hyper-new analysis of the first paragraph of the ANAR report was presented, macro-themes and macro-news can be also suggested for an entire text. Theme at the clause and paragraph level was defined as the element that "gives us an orientation to what is to come: our frame of reference as it were" (Martin and Rose p. 181). Applied to the macro-theme of the A Nation at Risk report, this definition also applies. Macro-themes for the report, defined as higher level themes predicting hyper-themes, follow.

Macro-Theme - Our Nation is at Risk

One of the most reliable ways to identify this as a macro-theme is to look at the hyper-themes it predicts. In order to illustrate this point, the phase entitled 'indicators of the risk' in argument I is analyzed (See Figure 8).

Hyper-theme[1]
The educational dimensions of the risk before us have been amply documented in testimony received by the Commission.

Hyper-theme[2]
These deficiencies come at a time when the demand for highly skilled workers in new fields is accelerating rapidly

Hyper-theme[3]
Analysts examining these indicators of student performance and the demands for new skills have made some chilling observations.

Hyper-theme[4]
But the problem does not stop there, nor do all observers see it the same way.

Hyper-theme[5]
It is important, of course, to recognize that *the average citizen* today is better educated and more knowledgeable than the average citizen of a generation ago--more literate, and exposed to more mathematics, literature, and science.

Figure 8. Indicators of Risk in Argument 1

The Macro-theme "Our Nation is at Risk" predicts what is to come in subsequent paragraphs just as the Hyperthemes 1-5 predict what is to come in subsequent clauses within the paragraph it organizes. Purely looking at the Macro-Theme in terms of its propositional content, the world it constructs (its ideational meaning), it could be noticed that hyper-themes spell out the notion of risk proposed in the Macro-theme. That is, reading the hyperthemes from top to bottom, our nation is at risk as: educational dimensions of the *risk* have been documented, these *deficiencies* come at a time of increased demands, analysts have made *chilling observations*, the *problem* does not stop there. While hyper-theme[5] does not seem to correlate with the Macro-theme "our nation is at risk", fronting the idea that the average citizen is better educated now than before

highlights the depth and urgency of the risk, as in the rest of the paragraph the point is that "*the average graduate* of our schools and colleges today is not as well-educated as the average graduate of 25 or 35 years ago" (original emphasis). Hence, the risk.

The Learning Society: Life-Long Learning

Building the second argument, the text continues in a prospective fashion (telling us where we are going) by making reference to "significant movement by political and educational leaders to search for solutions", linking them with the idea of excellence in education with the goal "to develop the talents of all to their fullest" and "commitment to life-long learning."

Since the ANAR report, the concept of lifelong learning has not only been increasingly used in educational discourse but has been associated with progressive agendas in education. Bagnall (2000) highlights the current trend of lifelong learning and examines its current incidence as being now featured in practically every imaginable agenda for social change, educational policy preamble and mission statement (Bagnall 2000 p. 20). Bagnall describes the way the discourse of lifelong learning is presented:

> This discourse is presented by its apologists, and it presents itself to the public eye, as educationally progressive, ethical and liberating. Its focus on instrumental, useful, performative knowledge, especially the generic skills that will help individuals to obtain work, or to better their working conditions or economic returns, is seen as empowering individuals to assume responsibility for their own well being; as liberating them from poverty and dependence; as thereby raising their self-esteem, their sense of self-worth and their identification with contemporary culture ; as enhancing their opportunity to benefit from the cultural richness of that culture; and as making it possible for them to contribute to the betterment of society, both directly through their productive work, and through their beneficence and generosity of spirit toward others" (Bagnall 2000 p. 23).

Presented in this way, the term obscures much of its relations with profit making agendas related to capital accumulation and capitalist exploitation. For one thing, lifelong learning generates a reduction of education to training, whereby educational value is measured in the extent to which it contributes to the development of vocational and other skill routines and habits (Ainger & Harrison, 1995 p. 22).

The altruistic nature of the concept of life-long learning is accomplished discursively in the ANAR report by recurring to the already referenced technique of producing a discourse that is not only difficult, but irrational to oppose. Coming back to the concept of excellence in education expressed in the ANAR, "to develop the talents of all to their fullest" and "commitment to life-long learning." is it worth noting that the juxtaposition of these two ideas (develop talents and life-long learning) through the element "and" creates a textual link between these two terms. By sharing the same semantic environment, they are not only equated to each other but they are implicitly identified as components of "excellence in education". It is in this way that opposition to life-long learning is textually constructed as equated to opposition to the popular and common sense idea that one needs to develop talents to its fullest or that one needs to be open to constant growth and learning throughout one's life. Understood in this way, opposition to life-long learning can easily be seen as radical and unreasonable.

Upon closer evaluation, the conception of 'constant growth' and lifelong learning are far from being the same. Life-long learning as used in the report (and in current educational reform) is a highly packed concept with a lot of assumed information not readily available to the casual reader. Its interdiscursive connections with mainstream

economics discourse are not apparent in the common sense idea of learning throughout one's life.

The reference to life-long learning in the report is significant because such term orients education toward a certain vision of an imagined economy by reducing learning to a circumstantial aspect of duration with competitive overtones particular of neoliberalism. Specifically, the education favored in the report is a kind of education that sets high standards and promotes a "commitment to life-long learning" because "…workers, and new entrants into the workforce, will need further education and retraining if they--and we as a Nation--are to thrive and prosper."(p. 4). The search for flexible, highly qualified labor that adapts to different needs of the economy is nothing new, and in fact, it can be traced to the origins of the junior or community college in the U.S. (Ramírez, 2006). What is new, however, is that under the current dominant neoliberal order the common sense idea of 'developing one's talents' with life-long learning and the responsibility for constant re-education is relocated within the individual.

It is in this way that commitment to life-long learning has also been linked to the construction of work as an increasingly fragmented, changeable, ephemeral, uncertain cultural engagement, calling for constant re-education, especially during periods of unemployment (Brown & Scase, 1997; Hedberg, 1984). Within this arrangement, a 'knowledge-based-society" reserve army of the unemployed (Marx & Engels, 1967) may be readily available, one that is normally needed within capitalist societies in order to keep work discipline in the workplace, keep wages down, and protect profits of business.

With crisis, fear, and insecurity as common and increasing collective referents in current times, the concept of life-long learning seems to be pivotal in constructing an economic imaginary serving the interests of very few. In Bob Jessop's words:

> Economic imaginaries at the meso and macro levels develop as economic, political, and intellectual forces seek to (re)define specific subsets of economic activities as subjects, sites, and stakes of competition and/or as objects of regulation and to articulate strategies, projects, and visions oriented to these imagined economies" (Jessop, 2004).

Seen in this way, and taking into consideration the amount of influence that organizations such as the business roundtable have had over recent educational policy (Eldersky & Bomer, 2005), the above excerpt from the ANAR report calling for long-life learning because "workers, and new entrants into the workforce, will need further education and retraining if they--and we as a Nation--are to thrive and prosper," could be restated as "workers, and new entrants into the workforce, will need further education and retraining if they—and we as *Capitalists*—are to thrive and prosper".

Through the rhetoric saturation of highly condensed themes such as lifelong learning, economic imaginaries are sketched. The discourse of lifelong learning becomes entrenched with the development of basic life and vocational skills in the interests of engagement in and service to the global economy. Bagnall aligns with other critics of this discourse (Collins M, 1991; Johnson, 2002; I. Martin, 2001) who look for a radical change in current perspectives on lifelong learning which they say substantially lack in critical concern, social vision, and any commitment to social justice and equity.

Spelling Out the Notion of Risk

After the reference to life-long learning, the ANAR report keeps moving in a prospective fashion as it promotes the idea that "educational reform should focus on the goal of creating a Learning Society". The Macro-theme "Our nation is at risk" is still evident as hyper-themes in later sections of the text again spell out the notion of risk made explicit in the Macro-theme. Some examples are provided. Below, the macro-theme "Our Nation is at Risk" is written before each of the hyper-themes. While in the text they are distant from each other, this is intended to provide a sense of 'visual proximity' among otherwise distant elements. This may help stress the point of their undoubted and close macro/hyper textual relationship. The connection will be more evident if you read the examples *without* the underlined elements.

Our Nation is at risk. *In contrast to the ideal of the Learning Society, however, we find that for too many people education means doing the minimum work necessary for the moment, then coasting through life on what may have been learned in its first quarter.*

Our Nation is at risk. *Thus, we issue this call to all who care about America and its future: (all stakeholders are mentioned).*

Our Nation is at risk. *We are confident that America can address this risk.*

Our Nation is at risk. *It is our conviction that* the essential raw materials needed to reform our educational system are waiting to be mobilized through effective leadership*

Our Nation is at risk. *Of all the tools at hand*, the public's support for education is the most powerful.*

Our Nation is at risk. *At the same time*, the public has no patience with undemanding and superfluous high school offerings.*

Our Nation is at risk. *Another dimension of the public's support offers the prospect of constructive reform.*

Our Nation is at risk. *And perhaps most important*, citizens know and believe that the meaning of America to the rest of the world must be something better than it seems to many today.*

Upon reading the examples, you may have noticed that the underlined elements are located on the beginning of the second clause of each of the excerpts. The underlined elements are part of the point of departure or theme of the clause, but unlike most sentences in English in which the most common choice for the theme of a clause is the subject, these underlined sections help form what SFL linguists call *marked themes*. Marked themes are referred to as ideational meaning that comes before the subject (Martin and Rose 2003 p. 178). Our concern here in highlighting these marked themes is not so much its atypicality as the fact that because we 'fictitiously' added the Macro-theme before the excerpt to demonstrate the flow of information between 'tidal waves' (macro-themes) and 'medium waves' (hyper-new), these marked themes signal *textual* continuity (of all the tools at hand, at the same time, and perhaps most important) with their immediate textual context and with the macro-theme. This is why reading the excerpts without the marked themes would highlight the macro-theme/hyper-theme connections.

The sentence "The citizen wants the country to act on the belief, expressed in our hearings and by the large majority in the Gallup Poll, that education should be at the top of the Nation's agenda." completes the last excerpt above. After this sentence, the Macro-theme "Our Nation is at Risk" no longer exerts the same prospective value on subsequent hyper-themes. A different but related Macro-theme structures the next section.

The Findings Section: A Second Macro-Theme

> The finding section begins with the following paragraph:
>
> We conclude that declines in educational performance are in large part the result of disturbing inadequacies in the way the educational process itself is often conducted. The findings that follow, culled from a much more extensive list, reflect four important aspects of the educational process: content, expectations, time, and teaching.

At first glance, it may be confusing to identify the Hyper-theme of this paragraph as "four important aspects of the educational process: content, expectations, time, and teaching." This is so because structurally, this hyper-theme is in the position of the hyper-new. A comprehensive look at the findings section though will make it clear that such hyper-theme is not so much structuring the paragraph as it is structuring the entire findings section and thus working as a Macro-theme. This means that the section can be expected to explore content, expectations, time, and teaching as four important aspects of the educational process. The text does exactly this. Similarly, the sentence that initiates the findings section (reference above) is not functioning so much as a hyper-new –and thus functioning at a paragraph level- but as a Macro-new. The conclusion of the findings section could have well been located at the very end of the findings section. Fronting the conclusion of the report as well as what is to be expected in the findings section functions as a way to foreground important information in the section. Such a strategy as well as selecting significant and salient excerpts of text and displaying them in a larger font somewhere on the page seeks to attend to different readers and to highlight important information.

With the end of the findings section, the first part of the motivation for the appearance of the report (as already explained) has been accomplished: "to help define

the problems afflicting American education". This was accomplished during the two Macro-themes identified: "Our nation is at Risk" which structured about two thirds of the report and the Macro-theme "four important aspects of the educational process: content, expectations, time and teaching" which structured the findings section.

With this accomplished, the text then looks 'retrospectively' in its recommendations section. This shift signals an important stage for the report: new information on the risk facing the nation has accumulated. The recommendation sections are the place to refine such information and accomplish the second part of the motivation for the report "to provide solutions". We are entering a new 'tidal wave' of information; we are entering the landscape of the Macro-News.

Macro-News in the A Nation at Risk Report: The Creation of a Semantic Watershed

Similar to the function of the Hyper-theme at paragraph level in which the accumulation of new information is spelled out in the last clause of the paragraph, accumulation of new information is also spelled out in the last section of the report, specifically in the recommendations section. However, this section of the report does not only tell us where we have been in the text so far, but it takes the text to a new point; a new point attempted to be grasped in this analysis by surfing through the 'textual waves' of the report. The analysis that follows seeks to make evident the way in which the text is taken to a new point as the Macro-New is built by looking at the text preceding it. Rhetorically, the most salient characteristic of the recommendations section of the ANAR report is that it looks retrospectively at the text. This is expressed within the first clause of the recommendations section:

In light of the urgent need for improvement, both immediate and long term, this Commission has agreed on a set of recommendations that the American people can begin to act on now, that can be implemented over the next several years, and that promise lasting reform.

The light of the urgent need for improvement was shed by what was said in the report up to this point. Such need is used as the motivation for the rest of the section as "a set of recommendations" is put forward. These recommendations almost exactly match the findings concerning content, standards and expectations, time and teaching. Notably, a totally new recommendation without retrospective reference is added: Leadership and fiscal support. In their words:

> We recommend that citizens across the Nation hold educators and elected officials responsible for providing the leadership necessary to achieve these reforms, and that citizens provide the fiscal support and stability required to bring about the reforms we propose.

The set of recommendations is not the only set of macro-news of the report. The text accomplishes the second part of its explicit purpose "to provide solutions" by adding a section of "implementing recommendations" that follows each of the five recommendations reviewed above. A close examination of the recommendations section reveals that the Macro-News do not only function retrospectively to take the ANAR text to a new point. More significant for the purposes of this study and to further hint the status of 'textual springboard' or 'semantic watershed' assigned here to the report is that the A Nation at Risk report has a significant prospective influence on other texts as Macro-News identified here unequivocally predict entire texts, and more specifically the NCLB act.

It is worth at this point to come back to the claim made earlier that the strength associated with reliance on 'objectivity' dominant in modern western society is not only built in the purposeful labeling and structuring of the text, but is also built in the lexical choices and the grammar of the report, which later translates into the NCLB act. This will be the focus of the next chapter.

Part II. Recontextualizing Risk: From A Nation at Risk to the NCLB

Risk as a Discursive Instantiation of Continuation of the Crisis Metaphor in the ANAR Report and the NCLB

Risk has become a major topic of research in social science today (see, for example, Beck, 1992). A recent study by Hamilton, Adolphs and Nerlich suggests that despite the rise of risk research, studies of risk discourse often take for granted what 'risk' means. The problem, they argue, is that scholars often talk about the meaning of 'risk' without sufficient empirical linguistic evidence for what that 'meaning' is. In an attempt to contribute the increasing interest of the emergent discipline of the "sociology of risk" the authors conducted a corpus analysis on the word 'risk' within two of the most established corpora used for the purpose of English lexicography, namely, the Collins WordbanksOnline and the CANCODE corpora[29].

One of the main findings from their empirical analysis on the word risk in both corpora is that 'risk' often keeps the company of words from the context of human health and illness. For the ANAR report, this finding is significant for the present analysis because it suggests that the report not only establishes its factual connotation through generic interpellation, that is, through the dominant associations of the report genre, but it

does so lexically. The word risk, central to the argument and to the world created by the report, appears 18 times. A refined list of the word and its collocates follows:

hi v e d I n f o r m a t I o n A Nation at **RISK**, *1983* Findings We conclude that declin
and the Nations youth who are most at **RISK**. 4. In addition we believe the Federal
8241. ,April 1983 A Nation At **RISK** *All* regardless of race or class or
.....The educational dimensions of the **RISK** *before* us have been amply documented i
in and for the generations to come.The **RISK** *History* is not kind to idlers. The time
onfident that America can address this **RISK**. *If* the tasks we set forth are
l men and women. It is no longer. The **RISK** *is* not only that the Japanese
form their discretion. Part of what is at **RISK** *is* the promise first made on this
a and the America of all of us that is at **RISK** *it* is to each of us that this imperative is a
gress of society itself. Our Nation is at **RISK**. *Our* once unchallenged preeminence in
ure to transmit this report A Nation at **RISK** *The* Imperative for Educational Reform.
ress of society itself. Indicators of the **RISK** *The* educational dimensions of the
ed citizens everywhere. America is at **RISK**. *We* are confident that America can

Figure 9. Collocations for RISK in the A Nation at Risk Report

One of the more salient characteristics of the immediate context of the word risk is that it keeps the company, implicit and explicit, of relational processes. These kind of processes are represented by what traditionally are known as 'linking verbs'. These processes function to establish a relationship between two terms which is typically realized by the verb 'to be' or a synonym. The relationship established can be of attribution (i.e., time spent in the classroom and on homework is often used ineffectively) or of identification (i.e., The shortage of teachers in mathematics and science is particularly severe). However, by relating a participant to some kind of characteristic or identification, the speaker or writer is not only setting forth such relation, but more implicitly, s/he is saying that such a relationship exist.

An additional characteristic is that the fact that there is no verb specified does not mean that the verb is not present. For example, the noun-phrase "freedom fighters" can

be represented in the phrase "soldiers who fight for freedom" or in the sentence "these soldiers are fighting for freedom" without loosing its propositional value. Similarly, the phrase A Nation at Risk, can be represented as "A Nation is at Risk". Notably, in the corpus examples reproduced above, the prevalence of relational processes is not only indicative a judgment of risk; but more importantly, is indicative first and foremost of a judgment that such risk exists. And it is a risk that touches everyone, it is 'our nation', therefore, the crisis concerns us all.

As it can be noted, the word risk not only figures prominently in the report, but it figures prominently in company of the collocation 'at', the most frequent collocation for 'risk' in the English Language according to the Collins Worldbank corpus. This is significant because the collocate "at risk" continues to be prominent in the NCLB act, but with important shifts in what the expression is associated with.

Based on the empirical data on crisis and risk already detailed, it is not difficult to link the problem / solution paradigm in the text to the risk/crises and resolution approach particular to the medicine discourse. The concept of 'risk' and its pervasive but implicit associations with scientific discourse embeds a series of thematic condensations that are no longer available for the reader. As such, this thematic condensation becomes a discursive instantiation of the persistent crisis metaphor in social events that helps construct the very risk it talks about (a risk in a nation; a social pathology) and calls for 'treatments' based on scientific principles[30]. The A Nation at Risk report describes a social pathology that needs to be resolved with the right 'treatment'. Such a 'clinical' line of thought is not only continued but taken to a technocratic limit in the NCLB act.

Implied in the social pathology that the ANAR report describes is the call for "right treatments" to the risk. These 'right treatments' took shape during educational reform in the late 80's and 90's advanced by the 'excellence movement' and found its summit with the passage of the No Child Left Behind act. The expression 'at risk' and the pathology it describes continues to be prevalent in the NCLB but it shifts from a Nation to students at risk. Instantiated through the NCLB act 20 years after the ANAR report, the 'right treatments' were not only found but became law as only those treatments that were 'scientific based' were acceptable. Thus, the word risk, its collocations, its discursive environment and its semantic associations with the medicine discourse in which it is used the most, transfers and transforms not only interdiscursively (from a scientific discourse to discourse on social events) but also intertextually: from the A Nation at Risk report to the No Child Left Behind act.

No Risk Left Behind: The ANAR Report and the Creation of a Perceived Consensus about Crisis for Years to Come

The story the A Nation at Risk tells to the American people in the early 1980's is as simple as it is deterministic: Our Nation is at Risk. Education is the major foundation for the future strength of the country but the United States is at risk of losing its supremacy because the educational system is inadequate and mediocre and other nations are doing a better job at educating their young people. In order to resolve this crisis, the recommendations that the writers propose need to be followed and implemented. In their own words: "If the tasks we set forth are initiated now and our recommendations are fully realized over the next several years, we can expect reform of our Nation's schools, colleges, and universities" (p. 12).

A book published more than a decade later, remains one of the most popular challenges to the report's conclusions. In their book "*The Manufactured Crisis: Myths, Fraud, and the Attack on America's Public Schools"* David Berliner and Bruce Biddle question the statistics documenting educational failure and claim that the report was just one example of the ways political leaders at the time were misleading the nation about the quality of public schools (1995). Friedman's quote above helps illuminate this issue as some of the actions that had been taken in our public schools in the NCLB era have shifted from politically impossible to politically inevitable (i.e, using only 'scientifically proven' materials and practices, handing in full control of school operations to private companies, requiring schools to disclose all information of high schoolers to the military for recruiting purposes). Ideas about crisis and risk had been lying around for a long time after the publication of the ANAR report. The actions taken, as Friedman argues, depend on the ideas that have been lying around.

It is within this contradictory context that several reforms were proposed seeking to realize the tasks set forth by the report. One of these reforms appears more than 20 years later. The No Child Left Behind presents itself as a "landmark in education reform designed to improve student achievement and *change the culture of America's schools*." Disregarding the charges of political maneuvering and lack of academic rigor, the authors of the law explicitly use the A Nation at Risk report as a point of departure for their own claims as they explain that changing the culture of America's schools is a necessary task because the vigorous national debate over how to improve the nation's schools initiated by the *Nation at Risk* is no longer a debate. In their own words,

> Since the *Nation at Risk* report was issued nearly 20 years ago, there has been a vigorous national debate over how to improve our nation's schools

> and our children's achievement. Out of these years of debate, a general consensus has emerged that schools and districts work best when they have greater control and flexibility, when scientifically proven teaching methods are employed, and when schools are held accountable for results.

Similar to the analysis of the last paragraph of the introduction of the ANAR report, a hyper-theme / hyper-new analysis of this paragraph also reveals that matters of debate and difference are part of the hyper-theme while matters of consensus over how schools work best with greater control and flexibility, scientific-proven teaching methods, and accountability systems in place are part of the Hyper-New and thus are foregrounded as new information.

The A Nation at Risk report is not simply a pretext, but it advances a Macro-New (the recommendations) that is taken up and transformed into law in the NCLB. This time, the point of departure is not on demonstrating crisis and risk, but on mandating the use of the 'right treatments' or solutions for the already established crisis. This is done through highly condensed lexical items and other language resources (i.e., appropriation of scientific language) that are common tools for neoliberal approaches. Furthermore, and following the dismissal of structural inequality common of neoliberalism, risk is conveniently relocated from a nation which is at risk, to specific students that are 'at risk'. The 'right treatments' to deal with this social pathology now particular of certain individuals rest on what the very authors of the law declare as "the guiding ideas behind the NCLB Act" namely, "control and flexibility, scientifically proven methods, and accountability" (NCLB p. 1).

The intertextual analysis in the next section will strongly suggest that many of the Macro-News spelled out in the recommendations section of the ANAR report were taken up and implemented in later provisions of the NCLB act which itself is an embodiment of

many of the 'implementing recommendations' section in the ANAR report. This analysis will provide strong counter evidence to the idea that:

> The report was able to gain a great deal of media attention, but that the attention seldom focused on its recommendations, looking instead at the "bad news" and the problems the report showed existed in schools (Goodlad 2003).

The prominent education scholar John I. Goodlad is right when he says that the attention focused on the 'bad news'. As illustrated, such news (Our Nation is at Risk) constituted the macro-theme and pervasive message of the report. Linguistic evidence will reveal however that that the new ideas (Macro-News) set forth by the ANAR recommendations were indeed not only taken up in the NCLB act but naturalized and taken to a new level. The NCLB represents the summit of neoliberal reforms that began to configure with the crisis in capitalism here explained.

Intertextual Thematic Formations (ITF's) Across Waves of Information

The unprecedented and increased speed in access to information in current knowledge based society has also increased the likelihood that texts rely more on other texts. Signifiers brought to light in a prominent way by the ANAR have been important constitutive parts of other texts, including but not limited to the NCLB act. Recall that Intertextual Thematic formations or thematic patterns are sets of ideas that recur from text to text in slightly different wordings but that can be mapped onto similar semantic patterns (Lemke 1995).

In long texts such as the ANAR or the NCLB, the amount of relevant and interesting thematic formations can be massive. This makes it necessary to focus

attention to few specific thematic formations based on clear criteria for selection. The criteria chosen for the selection of relevant thematic formations is based upon Martin and Rose's 2003 framework of flow of information already detailed in the methodology section and applied in the last chapter. To be clear, the analysis focuses on waves of information that figure prominently in the NCLB act and that have traveled 'intertextually' from texts such as the ANAR report. One of the significant waves of information in both texts that was already illustrated through brief hyper-theme analysis was the notion of building consensus. Another wave of information that prevails and permeates the ANAR report and is later taken up and naturalized in the NCLB act is the notion of crisis and risk.

Crisis and the Transformation of Risk from the ANAR to the NCLB

The crisis framework central in the ANAR report, already detailed in the last chapter and represented among many other things by the language and the semantic connotations associated with risk, not only continues as a central theme in the NCLB but is transformed in important ways. That is, there is an interdiscursive transfer of the concept of risk and its associations from the scientific discourse associated with medicine to a discourse that describes social events. This interdiscursive transfer from the discourse of science and medicine to the discourse of social events is further naturalized intertextually: it was first taken up by the ANAR report and it was later adopted intertextually as a given by the NCLB.

In other words, the ANAR report is important because it was the precursor of *interdiscursive and intertextual transfer.* Interdiscursive transfer is the movement across

discourses (from the discourse of science and medicine to the discourse of social events). Intertextual transfer is the conceptual movement from a text to another (ANAR to NCLB). The deep intratextual analysis on the ANAR report carried out in the last chapter was necessary because if one is to effectively disrupt the already naturalized medical-like conceptions of risk present in the NCLB, then it is necessary to look back at how they were adopted and spread out in the first place, and what discourses figured in the conception of the targeted focus text, in this case the ANAR report.

For example, the collocation "At Risk" in the report (serving as a Macro-theme or as a taste of what readers of the report are to expect in the next pages) is evidence of its prominence in the text. Further, while the word risk and its lexical environment is indisputably associated with the 'objective' and factual discourse of medicine and science, such knowledge and its implications are not part of public domain and can be considered as "textual interpellations." These interpellations are interdiscursive because they travel unnoticed from the discourse of medicine to the discourse of education. They are interpellations due to the unnoticed nature of such transformations.

As the word and its associations enter implicitly into another discourse and these are not noted in its new context, we can talk about a textual interpellation taking place. It would be very hard to demonstrate that the ideological links already detailed between the word risk and medicine and illness discourse have disappeared as they make their way into the NCLB act. As the word transfers from one discourse to other, it may be more accurate to say that such word and its semantic field are partly recontextualized and partly taken up with its most common semantic associations. Evidence suggests however that the discourse of risk, prevalent and central in the report, is in fact not only taken up

with its medicine and treatments associations but it is taken to a new level in the NCLB act.

An official federal communication by the department of education on NCLB makes connections to the discourse of medicine more than explicit:

> *No Child Left Behind* sets forth rigorous requirements to ensure that research is scientifically based. It moves the testing of educational practices toward the medical model used by scientists to assess the effectiveness of medications, therapies and the like. Studies that test random samples of the population and that involve a control group are scientifically controlled. To gain scientifically based research about a particular educational program or practice, it must be the subject of such a study. ((Retrieved June 6th at: http://www.ed.gov/nclb/methods/whatworks/doing.html)

The dominant clinical in education –tightly linked to top down impositions- model seems to rest on the assumption that a "sick" person lacks health and requires treatment. If education is at risk and in crisis, a clinical model seems commonsensical. However, as it has shown here, crisis and risk have been linguistic constructions that have brought the very thing they seek to prevent. In addition, equating education with a clinical practices in medicine poses unique challenges due to the fact that a child's development and the nature of instruction are overdetermined matters that need a multilevel analysis of causal inference (Raudenbush, 2008). In fact, Raudenbush contends that the social structure of instruction and the fact that it occurs within classrooms nested within schools invalidates strong assumptions underlying the clinical trial in medicine (Raudenbush, 2008).

In a traditional deficit model prevalent in educational circles in the last decades, medicines, drugs, and treatments are designed to restoré health but not to maintain well being. It is in this same context that, as detailed in the review of the literature, language

for example becomes a problem to be solved rather than a right or a resource. To solve the language problem then, children are exposed to 'treatments' that would get rid of the problem and would instill a solution. Such it is the assumption behind, for example, sink or swim substractive methodologies such as structured language immersion (one example of such approach is Haver, 2003).

In current times of neoliberal dominance, the historical responsibility for the protection and security of youth has gradually shifted from state protectionism to individual responsibility. This has developed in the increased individualization of educational responsibility (Lin, 1999) and the heightening of the privatization of education, wherein educational cost and benefit are increasingly seen as matters for the individual, rather than the state (Marginson, 1997).

The shift from protection of the individual to self-protection by the individual has been claimed to be illustrative of the phenomena of the `risk society' (Beck, 1992). Such a society has been defined in terms of the erosion of traditional values (Giddens, 1991) and the desire to allocate accountability and responsibility for personal or social actions (Beck, 1992). Ideas associated with `risk society' have become part of the organising ground, which serves to define and order the 'personal' and social spaces' integral to its `youth problem' (Epstein, 1998).

The individualization of risk is a prominent characteristic in the NCLB simply by not focusing anymore on the Nation but on children who are at risk. Children at risk, low-achieving children, low-performing, disadvantaged children is the language used by the NCLB (see Appendix of concordances). Put together, the two texts seem to simply say:

Our Nation is at Risk and the poor achievement of certain students (not the inequities of the system) needs to be documented in tests.

The Context of Ideas Shaping the NCLB in the "Post 9-11" World

In addition to taking into consideration intertextual thematic formations and Macro-Themes and Macro-News that may have passed from the ANAR report written more than 20 years ago from current educational reform such as the NCLB, it is important to note that just as literacy is constrained and enabled by the changing economics and politics of society in general and schooling and surrounding communities in particular (A. Luke, 1998), so is educational policy. Specifically, borderline discourses of crisis, risk and fear, already referenced have recently found a catalytic event in the horrific terrorist acts of September 11, 2001 that have also served as a "semantic watershed" for other texts (Butt et al., 2004; Kellner, 2004).

Current sweeping educational discourses in the U.S. represented by initiatives such as the No Child Left Behind have not been (and cannot be) indifferent either to texts that have helped constitute it or to changing economics and politics of society in which they are born. In fact, and within a 'post-September 11 world" unprecedented metaphors that blur political and educational boundaries have been numerous in speeches by the current president of the United States, Mr. George W. Bush, who has referred to teachers as "soldiers in the army of compassion" (Kattan, 2005) or to curricular practices as 'war on illiteracy'.

It is important to understand that such metaphors are both part of the president's linguistic repertoire (what the president or his speech writers can say) as well as part of

the linguistic reservoir of the culture (all available meanings that can be expressed in the culture). However, the interesting thing to notice here is that the choosing of such metaphors is motivated by the particular historical and political situations surrounding the text and by the motivated desire to make two different areas and their discourses (military and education) intertexts of each other.

The point here is that the NCLB act is not only constituted by the text that created it or by the law that was passed by congress in 2001. Retrospectively, it carries on meanings (and their assumptions) that were already part of the cultural reservoir and that were expressed through some other texts. The ANAR report is a case in point. Prospectively, the ANAR report helps advance such cultural reservoir as the very NCLB act text, as well as many other texts, including but not limited to speeches, articles, news reports, books, songs, documentaries, dissertations, classroom interactions and even students' texts are also constitutive of its idea. This part of the findings section will focus not so much on aspects of the law itself but on texts that have shaped and are shaped by the NCLB act. A brief excerpt from a speech by the current President of the United States, George W. Bush, is analyzed to introduce the more thorough discussion that follows in the next chapter and that addresses the co-construction of pedagogic genres in the focal classroom.

> This nation of immigrant heritage believes that all children, whatever their circumstances, deserve a chance to learn and rise and succeed. This principle has guided my education reforms as we work to raise the standards of public schools across America and bring hope to every classroom for every child—I mean every child, not just a few, not just those whose parents may speak English. We want educational excellence 'para todos que viven in este país.' (Bush, 2001)

The above is an excerpt from a speech by President George W. Bush during the Hispanic Heritage Month event in Washington in October 2001. This excerpt exemplifies much of the kind of progressive and compassionate ideology that is also part of the No Child Left Behind Act. President Bush sets the tone in this intervention by positioning himself as the nation's leader. As such, he locates himself as the speaker for a whole nation and what the nation as a whole believes in, and not only this, it qualifies the kind of nation he is speaking for "This nation of immigrant heritage believes that…". He maintains a tone of generosity and altruism by positioning himself and his reforms as those which "bring hope". The progressive and compassionate discourse of the NCLB is a discourse that unites and brings together beliefs and hopes, but also one that assumes a lot.

As a discourse of 'common sense' (who in their right mind would not want all children to have a chance to learn and rise and succeed?), it is resolute and strong minded either to express total certainty through lack of modality or total adherence to specific practices (usually invested with institutional power such as 'scientific-based). In the excerpt above, lack of modality (to express complete certainty) is a key characteristic as it uses words that include without exceptions: '*all* children', '*every* classroom for *every* child' 'whatever their circumstances'. Indeed, as it can be seen, such lack of modality is in some cases reinforced by means of paraphrasing in a personal and non formal way 'I mean every child, not just a few, not just those whose parents may speak English." This paraphrasing is potent not only because it reinforces the already reinforced (by recurring to lack of modality) but because by lowering the formality, the tenor, the phrase takes a

form of personal investment which appeals to the power invested in a prominent figure as the president.

More significantly, it is a discourse that goes well beyond simple use of words expressing absolute certainty and change in tenor, to purposefully include and give prominence to the often excluded even if this means excluding the great majority of people. This is achieved in the careful codeswitching of the last phrase in the quotation: "We want educational excellence 'para todos que viven in este país." The most prominent characteristic of this sentence is that it begins in English and finishes in Spanish. Upon closer examination, it is possible to see that the nominalized action[31] 'educational excellence' is what is desired for what was chosen to be in Spanish: the participant 'todos' (everybody) introduced by the preposition 'para' (for) and modified by the postmodifier 'los que viven en este pais' (who live in this country). Educational excellence (whatever it means) is the purpose for everybody.

The choice of such sentence at the end also proposes a change of tenor because by using Spanish the relations between the speaker and the receiver are altered. In this case, this choice of Spanish should not be taken lightly, not only because it suggests alignment with minorities (Hispanics) who are the major audience, but more importantly, because it presupposes an exclusion for the white, US, monolingual counterparts. This 'syntactic move' however is in the end to the benefit not only to the Hispanics in the audience who feel included in culturally relevant ways but also to their white counterparts. Hispanics feel included by simply hearing the president speaking their language albeit inaccurately[32]. Whites on their part may feel proud that his president is speaking Spanish and may feel that they are doing a great deed by providing funds for a noble and much

needed cause: No Child should be Left Behind. This too could be interpreted as a case of White Love (Rafael 2000) already referenced in the methodology section.

The NCLB has helped advance numerous texts such as the speech just referenced here. This, and the previous analysis in this chapter identified significant themes in the sociopolitics of literacy over the last three decades by means of a detailed intratextual and intertextual analysis of representative parts of two cornerstone texts. In the next chapter, we explore in detail the issue of how pedagogic discourse is typically co-constructed in the focal classroom given the current educational reform and the significant themes it advances.

Part III. The Instantiation of the Pedagogic Device: The Genre and Lexico-grammar of Strategic Alignment in the Focal Classroom

Introduction

In the previous chapter, strong connections between the ANAR report and the NCLB were demonstrated. This intratextual and intertextual analysis focused on specific educational policies and the texts that represent them, what they intend to do, how they intend to do it and the 'ensemble of relations' (Gramsci 1971) that made them possible. It was demonstrated how while all texts have the possibility to become sources for many others, within the climate created by neoliberal globalization in the last 25 years, certain texts have been able to shape the debate functioning as powerful 'semantic watersheds' or 'textual springboards' to produce an 'eco' effect in many other texts. This is exemplified by the case of the eco effect of the "A Nation at Risk Report" on many texts and specially in the NCLB act. This can be seen in the following graphic.

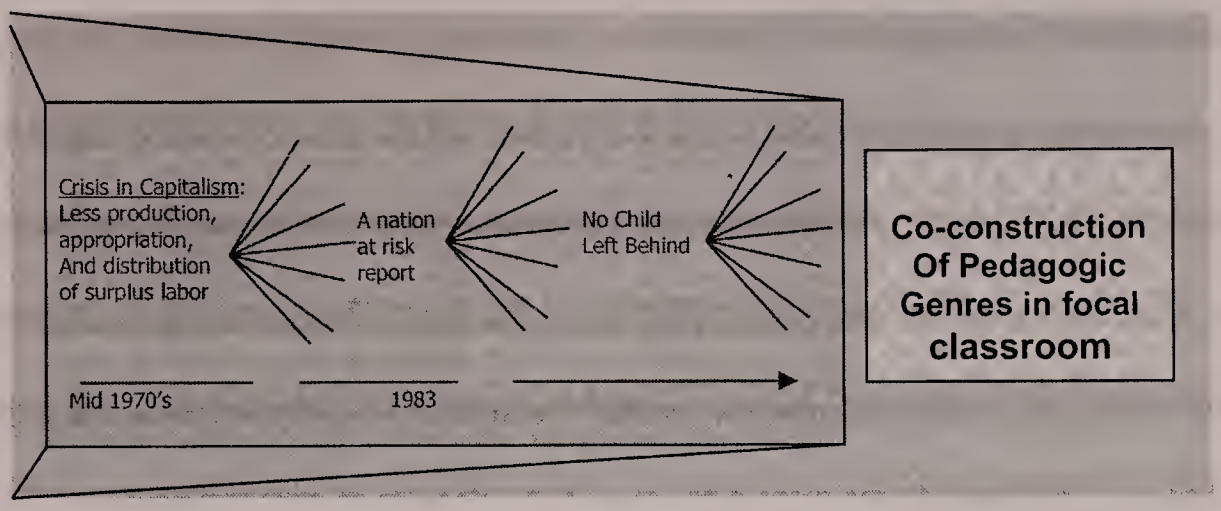


Figure 10. Semantic Watersheds and Intertextuality

In the review of literature it was shown how a crisis in capitalism was successfully recontextualized as a crisis in education instantiated discursively with the "A Nation at Risk Report". Prevalent and pervasive 'thematic formations' included in the report in turn, served as 'semantic watersheds' for a number of texts including the NCLB act. Such law, provided certain stipulations that regulated what Bernstein calls the regulation of the 'thinkable' and 'the unthinkable' in terms of the co-construction of pedagogic genres in the focal classroom. For example, one of the new stipulations of the law is the idea that only educational programs and practices that "have been clearly demonstrated to be effective through rigorous scientific research" will be funded under the NCLB act. As it will be demonstrated later, what can be co-constructed in the focal classroom is highly constrained by regulating the inputs to only what official educational agencies have labeled as effective and scientific even though the evidence of such supposed scientificity has been shown to be highly dubious, and biased, and even detrimental (Allington, 2002; Dudley-Marlin & Paugh, 2005).

The present chapter builds up on the broader 'ensemble of relations'; especially textual relations illuminated with the analysis of the ANAR report and the NCLB. This analysis though, enters the classroom in order to detail how pedagogic discourse is co-

constructed and organized in one of the classrooms directly affected by current educational reform and more specifically, the NCLB. The following diagram seeks to illustrate graphically the identified components of Susan's recontextualized practice; that is, the components of her pedagogic repertoire. I call it recontextualized practice because her pedagogic repertoire is an individual realization of a broader cultural pedagogic; a pedagogic reservoir.

Martin and Rose's graphic is once again adapted in order to provide a general idea of the constituents and relations in Susan's pedagogic repertoire (see below). The ideological level, what I call the "context of pedagogic ideas" is represented by Strategic Alignment. That is, Susan's patterned and individual way of attending to a) official mandates and standards, b) students needs, rights, and backgrounds, and c) thought collectives of the teaching profession.

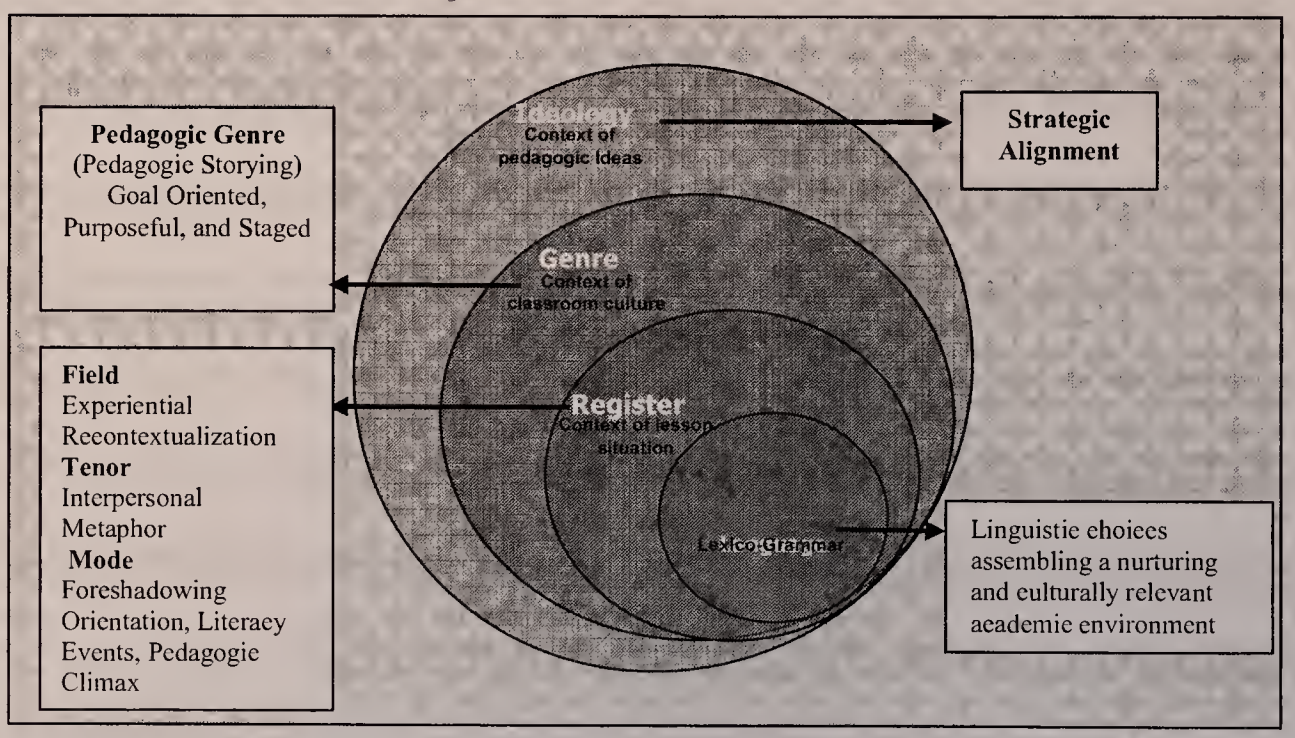


Figure 11. Susan's Pedagogic Repertoire

Susan's context of pedagogic ideas needs a way of expression; it requires signs because without signs there is no ideology (Voloshinov et al., 1973).

Susan's strategic alignment is realized through a pedagogic genre (pedagogic storying) that is purposeful, goal oriented, and staged. In this model of pedagogic repertoire, the genre level or "context of culture" is called "context of *classroom* culture." The field, tenor, and mode of Susan's recontextualized practice is realized through specific linguistic choices that make up the specific "context of classroom situation" of the focal classroom. Linguistic repertoires realizing experiential, interpersonal, and textual meanings that end up advancing a nurturing and culturally relevant academic environment embody the material form of Susan's pedagogic recontextualization or pedagogic repertoire. They provide the grammar of Strategic Alignment.

The heuristic above provides a graphic outline for this chapter. Susan's pedagogic repertoire will be detailed below starting at the ideological level and finishing at the lexico-grammatical level. In the following section, the concept of Strategic Alignment is introduced to highlight the interaction between macro and micro ideological constituents of actual classroom interactions. That is, it highlights the interaction between the ideological in the pedagogic reservoir (the cultural pedagogic) and the ideological in the pedagogic repertoire (the individual pedagogic.)

Strategic Alignment

In broader terms the concept of Strategic Alignment is a framework used to make general sense of what knowledge the focal teacher chooses to pedagogize and foreground and when. Such ideological choices were found to promote a safe and engaging

environment for learners and learning. That is, when the grammar or material form of Susan's pedagogic repertoire is assembled through linguistic choices that make up a nurturing and culturally relevant academic environment, Strategic Alignment represents the ideological component that drives the construction of such academic environment. Strategic Alignment touches upon these two aspects (what knowledge is pedagogized and foregrounded, and how it promotes learning) but focuses more specifically on the knowledge the focal teacher chooses to pedagogize.

In this specific study, Strategic Alignment refers to the 'context of ideas' that seem most important in Susan's pedagogic repertoire. The concept of Strategic Alignment came out of the realization that Susan's teaching was guided by a profound sense of context that prompted her to recontextualize her practice and curricula to simultaneously meet a) standards and mandates, b) students' needs, rights and backgrounds, and c) thought collectives of the profession. As already mentioned, the means of expression or the way Strategic Alignment is actually realized is linguistic. That is, Susan's Strategic Alignment finds its expression through a series of available linguistic choices, or signs, also called a pedagogic device. Recall that the pedagogic device is described by Bernstein as a compilation of procedures or rules -distributive, recontextualizing, and evaluative- through which knowledge is converted into classroom talk and/or curricula. In other words, this device is made up of rules and/or procedures for converting knowledge into pedagogized knowledge. Such pedagogical conversion is mediated through certain set of societal values as well as individual teachers' values; a combination of societal reservoirs and individual repertoires.

The following diagram illustrates the main participants in the Strategic Alignment framework. It should be highlighted that the framework participants simultaneously represent societal and individual values. Certainly, students rights, needs and backgrounds; mandated curriculum and standards; and thought collectives of the profession belong to a broad cultural pedagogic (a pedagogic reservoir). However, when framed as integral and patterned in Susan's pedagogic recontextualization, the framework becomes the "context of pedagogic ideas" specific to Susan's specific pedagogic repertoire as these participants, and not others, compose the framework. Any choice responds to ideology. In this case, Strategic Alignment represents Susan's choice at the pedagogical level.

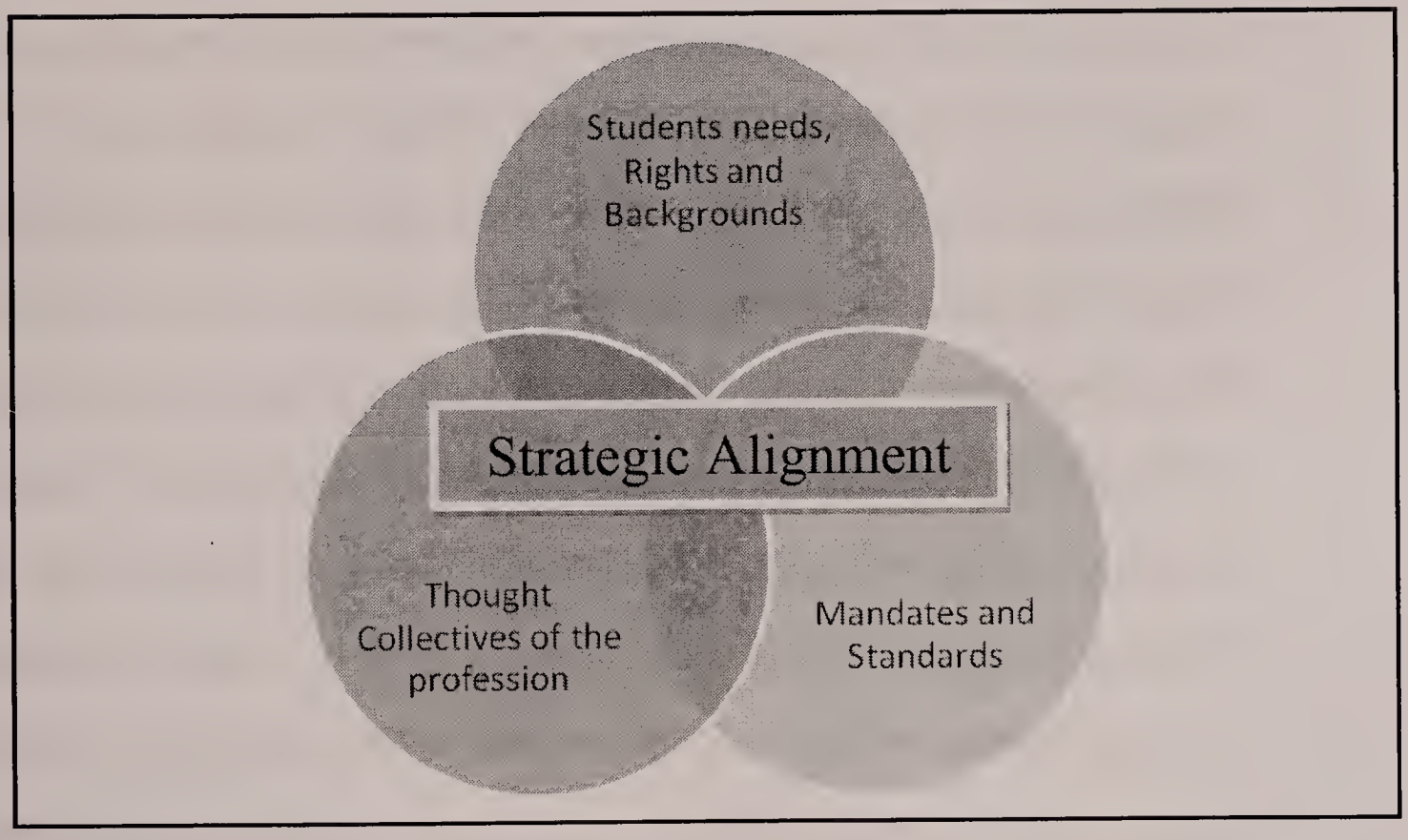


Figure 12. Strategic Alignment

The interaction between societal reservoirs and individual repertoires in pedagogy is complex, but it can be explained as follows. The pedagogic reservoir is more strongly influenced and made up by the ORF (Official Recontextualizing Field). The pedagogic repertoire is so by the PRF (Pedagogic Recontextualizing Field). The ORF represents the 'voice' of ideas; that is, the limits on what could be realized or said legitimately. In contrast, the PRF represents the 'message' of ideas; that is, the contextual realization or what is actually said, which, although depends on what could be said (voice), cannot be determined. In this study, the NCLB act represents the official 'voice' of ideas that has been crafted during more than two decades. Susan's pedagogic repertoire, and more specifically, the realization of her Strategic Alignment, represents the actual 'message'.

Bernstein argues that the message is the means of changing voice. This is certainly so in Susan's pedagogic repertoire: Susan's Strategic Alignment was the means through which she changed the expression of the NCLB by experientially recontextualizing (i.e., expanding or cutting) what could be realized or said legitimately. Bernstein also argues that the implications of such change are that social relations within the social division of labour have the potential of changing that social division of labour (Bernstein 1990 p. 35). As it will become clearer in this chapter, Susan's Strategic Alignment message (the change or recontextualization of the official voice) not only enhanced such voice but shifted social relations as the teacher and her students took up less traditional roles that allowed them to 'flatten out' traditional academic hierarchies, making available new and nurturing subject positions for learners. It should be bore in mind that less traditional approaches and engagement and learning should not be equated. In fact, less traditional approaches may well be counterproductive as they may not

generate any engagement in students and thus compromise its impact on student learning. In the focal classroom studied however, the flattening out of traditional hierarchies promoted engagement and learning and made available subject positions that were not part of students' academic map or repertoire.

The following table seeks to summarize the voice of current educational policy, called alignment because it represents the limits on what could be realized or said legitimately (by law). The table highlights the difference between this official voice, and

Susan's recontextualized practice. Such message is called Strategic Alignment as it represents the contextual realization or what was actually said. The table categorizes differences between Alignment and Strategic Alignment in terms of the framing relations and the classroom relations they foster.

The never stopping tension between 'voice' and 'message' is the materialization of the tension between pedagogic reservoirs (macro) and pedagogic repertoires (micro). Strategic Alignment is the framework that Susan relied on to cope with such tension. Following Bernstein's insights, the 'framing relations' in Susan's Strategic Alignment effectively led to a change in the classificatory relations (different participants in the Strategic Alignment framework were foregrounded at different times). In this way, Strategic Alignment effectively challenged and recontextualized the power relations imposing or enabling the classification (B. Bernstein, 2000; B. Bernstein & Solomon, 1999) which in this case are power relations built over time and advanced through different semiotic systems, including and not limited to, textual relationships explored in the previous chapter.

Table 5. Alignment vs. Strategic Alignment

Alignment	Strategic Alignment
FRAMING RELATIONS	
• Traditional pedagogy. Teacher as bearer and transmitter of knowledge. • Inside the accountability frame. Prescribed practices. Sometimes scripted and verbatim. • Behaviorist Theory. Learning results from the activity and drilling of the individual mind. • Schooling as an investment (Human Capital). Active participation in the global economy. • Education is in crisis as it is failing to prepare students for Twenty-first-century information technology skills	• Critical Pedagogy. Teacher as rightful leader in the co-construction of knowledge. • Aligns strategically to the accountability frame. May include prescribed practices, but are recontextualized and enhanced in interaction. • Sociocultural Theory. Learning is situated within certain forms of social co-participation.* • Schooling as a right (Cultural Capital). Active participation in society as a whole. • Education is a local and contextualized endeavor. Capitalism' own crisis is recontextualized as 'educational crisis'.
CLASSROOM RELATIONS	
• Standardized Curriculum. Curriculum usually commercial (for profit). One size-fits-all. • Teacher as technician • Accountability and Testing. Standardized testing as major and often only basis for decision making. • Teaching basic skills. Back to basics. • Standards applied uniformly to students • Based upon the premises of 'best practice', and what has been proven as 'scientifically based'.	• Collaborative, responsive curriculum design focused on 'big' ideas and enduring understandings. • Teacher as intellectual • Authentic, classroom-based assessment. Achievement in standardized testing viewed as by product. • Reflective, critical reading response • Teaching for individual strengths, needs • Based on students' rights, needs, and backgrounds as evidenced by teacher's reflective and inquiry stance (looking inwards and outwards respectively).

Power relations built over the current 'high-stakes' education era were at play when Susan expressed concern about the fact that many teachers were feeling the pressures of new mandates and demands. Recall that she described how other teachers repeatedly asked her for guidance on how to work with unmotivated, reluctant readers as successfully as she did and how Susan lacked the words and ways to describe her successful practice. I argue that Susan's constant and patterned Strategic Alignment helped advance a nurturing and culturally relevant academic space that made available non-traditional roles through which students demonstrated an enhanced engagement with texts and took responsibility for their own learning. Such an argument will be the central issue in the rest of the findings section. For now, it is important to say that Susan's Strategic Alignment holds the mark of an experienced and knowledgeable teacher who is able to advance pedagogical priorities resolutely. Strategic Alignment in the co-constructed pedagogical genres in the focal classroom was realized discursively through the pedagogic device. After this theoretical approach to Strategic Alignment, a brief excerpt from the classroom seeks to concretize this framework through the concept of pedagogic device and its always present and open potential for enhancing and recontextualizing learning processes. Such discussion helps advance the concept of Strategic Alignment further as it leaves the theoretical explanation of the concept and anchors the discussion in real data from the focal classroom. This brief discussion illustrates with examples from the classroom the organization and components of the pedagogic device, how these components relate to the language metafunctions advanced by SFL theory, and the strategic alignment these elements seek to accomplish. The

discussion begins with some relevant concepts from Bernstein used here and how they complement or are complemented by SFL theory.

The Ordering Principles of the Pedagogizing of Knowledge

According to Bersntein (1990, 2000), the pedagogical device provides the essential "grammar" of pedagogical discourse; its ordering principles. In my reading of Bernstein's work, grammar has a broad meaning that has little to do with 'grammatical correctness' stressed in traditional grammar. Bernstein relies on SFL and clearly follows Halliday's claim, with whom, along with Hasan, he collaborated in Britain, that language is structured as it is because of the function it performs. Thus, grammar for Bernstein necessarily encompasses choices at the ideational, interpersonal, and textual levels.

That is, the three metafunctions are choice systems that concern (a) with the text's propositional content (who does what to whom under which circumstances) (b) with the relational dynamics the text suggests, and (c) with the mode or the means of communication and the kind of text that is being made. However, for Bernstein, the pedagogic device is made up of choices that also represent distributive, recontextualizing, and evaluative rules. Linguistic choices are the realization or concrete form (i.e., through classroom talk) of what Bernstein calls (a) the thinkable and the unthinkable (distributive rules), (b) the official recontextualizing field (ORF) and the pedagogical recontextualizing field (PRF)- recontextualizing rules, and (c) what counts as valid knowledge and how we know (evaluative rules). If linguistic choices respond to the function they seek to accomplish, what would their function be in the focal classroom studied here? As I already stated, I argue that its function is to co-construct a pedagogic

genre that is purposeful, goal oriented and staged; A pedagogic genre that not only aligns to dominant mandates and standards, but also to the thought collectives of the profession, and to the rights, needs and backgrounds of the students it is supposed to serve.

In order to begin to illustrate this claim, a brief example may be needed at this point. This brief excerpt is aimed not only at showing the metafunctions in the context of one of the interactions in the focal classroom. It also shows how the metafunctions simultaneously realize both the distributive, recontextualizing, and evaluative rules and a purposeful, goal oriented, and staged pedagogic genre that is strategic. In this first section, I intend to explain in detail the ideational metafunction with only minor references to the interpersonal and textual metafunctions. Embedded references to all metafunctions will be included as the chapter progresses. In addition, I will note specific relationships between the metafunctions and the distributive, recontextualizing, and evaluative rules.

The example stems from one of the conversations in class in which Susan is explaining the work for the day as she distributes a Puerto Rican folktale to read with the students.

1. Susan: ready? who wants to read the background. This says Folktale from Puerto Rico
2. "El Medio Pollito" Half Chicken (HOLDS PAPER UP). There's background about
3. folktales (POINTS TO THE PART OF THE PAPER WHERE THE BACKGROUND
4. SECTION IS). Who wants to read the background. The background...
5. S1: Nobody knows to Read!! (EMPHASIZES THE WORD READ AND NODS)
6. S2: We do! (LOOKS AT S1 AND USES A CONVINCING TONE)
7. Susan: Yes we do know how to read! (EMPASIZES DO AND READ) .
8. (LAUGHTER) I'm filling all the words you need, I'll fill in the words you don't
9. know…
10. S3: I'll read it miss, I'll read it (EAGERLY).

Ideational, interpersonal and textual meanings (the what and how of strategic alignment) are realized simultaneously in this text (and in any text). Similarly, distributive, recontextualizing, and evaluative rules are also at play. Ideationally, this is

so because a text is always about something and also projects a particular experience of the world. This will be expanded later. Interpersonal meaning (the relational content of any text) is expressed mainly through mood and modality choices. Contrary to classrooms which stress a strong distinction between students' and teachers' roles by favoring traditional interactional patterns that position teachers as bearers of knowledge and initiators of dialogue and students as respondents (Mehan, 1979), in depth analysis to the interactional patterns in this classroom suggest a flattening of such role distinctions as affective involvement, contact, and peer to peer interactions are common. This can be exemplified in line 4 (Nobody knows to read!) in which the student is open enough to indirectly call everybody in the class (including himself) a non-reader. S2 in line 5 (We do!) directly addresses and challenges S1 assertion which is later backed up by Susan. It can also be exemplified by Susan's use of "We" in line 6 (Yes, We do know how to read) which suggest an unequivocal sense of solidarity with students and 'being on the same boat"

The fact that this classroom typically allows and encourages such flattening out of traditional role distinctions between teachers and students does not mean, however, that Susan positions herself as a non-authority. Quite the contrary, she often positions herself as a decisive guide of her students' academic progress, and rightfully so. She does not rely however so much on traditional "because I say so" power as she does in co-construction of ideas. In fact, her utterance in line 6 (*We DO know how to read)* displays co-construction as she acknowledges S2's idea strongly and unambiguously. This high certainty and authority is realized not only through the use of declarative mood (as

opposed to the interrogative do we know?) but also with the inclusion of the grammatically unnecessary but functionally meaningful auxiliary "do".

Finally, textual resources are important because they organize the other two kinds of meanings (ideational and interpersonal) as a 'flow of information that is possible for listeners and readers to process' (Butt et al., 2004). For example, oral discussions (and this is the case with all genres) have texture, through cohesion and coherence systems textual meanings are at play because texts always build on what has been said before and what is being said. The system of coherence concerns references that are external to texts. For example, the utterance by S1 (*Nobody knows to read*) responds intratextually to the question (*who wants to read?)* but it also responds to an external discourse associated with who is a good and a bad reader that precedes this text and is linked to the student's ideological assumptions. This external discourse has been formed as a classificatory system at the school and state levels which has positioned these students officially as bad readers. In this case, the textual realization of this idea was expressed through the declarative sentence (*Nobody knows to read*) and as such exemplifies the idea that textual meaning organize ideational and interpersonal meanings.

It is my intention later in the explanation of ideational meaning and in other sections, to fully address the extent to which the students in this classroom held quite negative perspectives about themselves as readers and reading in general. I will also show how Susan's purposeful teaching sought to constantly minimize and turn around such deficit conceptions as she consistently planned lessons with enduring purposes in mind. This was so, despite the fact that she was required and mandated to 'cover' certain materials. More specifically, I will show how the teacher decisively and continuously

fought to disrupt their deficit assumptions in a significant and sympathetic way by tapping into students' abilities and qualities, their community funds of knowledge and taking into consideration contextual and structural practices and constraints that reproduced such deficit notions and prevented students from developing their talents to their fullest. In a recurring and consistent way, the teacher sought to disrupt the students' ingrained ideas and assumptions of deficit as she repetitively sought to recontextualize them as embedded in inequitable social structures and not in the individual mind of her students. This pattern seems to be at odds with the current trend of individualization of risk documented in the last chapter.

If evaluative rules are at play to help determine what knowledge is valuable, it is clear that in this classroom literature that is closer to students' lives and cultures (as it is the case with the chosen folktale) is valued by the teacher despite the fact that such piece is not part of the mandated curriculum. Recontextualizing rules are also part of this scenario because in choosing this piece over the mandated one the teacher is using her ability to produce pedagogic discourse about folktales, a discourse that is recontextualized by her as a more capable peer so that it can be better understood by students. The discussion on ideational choices in the text complements these ideas and exposes the importance of the disruption of distributive rules.

Crafting an Enduring Purpose for Lessons: Ideational Choices

Ideational choices in this classroom often reflected a purposeful and enduring objective for lessons. The fact, for example, that the teachers and students are talking about a folktale called "El Medio Pollito" and that they hold different opinions about

what it is to be able to read (lines 2-3 and 4-6 respectively) reflect both that language always talks about something and that a particular perspective of the world is put across every time we speak. The mere presence of this specific folktale and not other as well as the explicitness with which conflicting opinions about reading ability were expressed are significant for this study. This is so because they provide insights into the kind of issues that are foregrounded in the focal classroom, issues that under current high stakes curriculum and tightness of curricular choices could have been backgrounded or totally not addressed.

First, the appearance of "El Medio Pollito" in the curriculum is significant because it represents a commotion in the mandated curriculum favored by America's Choice and thus, as such, this ideational choice is not just a choice in the field of discourse but goes beyond that as a representative example of what Bernstein calls pedagogical recontextualization thus making the unthinkable thinkable. By making the unthinkable in the prescribed curriculum (talking about Puerto Rican Folktales) thinkable, the teacher is not only recontextualizing pedagogical practice. More importantly, she is Strategically Aligning. Following Bernstein, she chooses to disrupt distributive rules which according to Bernstein distribute knowledge *differentially* among social groups and are responsible for constituting different orientations to meaning or pedagogic identities.

Because we now have the availability of the Strategic Alignment framework which actually positions Susan as an intellectual, Susan's 'disruptions' in Bernstein's framework will not be labeled as such. They will be called recontextualizations or Strategic Alignment as they seek to enhance the mandated curriculum. Thus, Strategic

Alignment is evident in the fact that the 'scheduled' folktale according to the curriculum was "Ella Enchanted". This text was perceived by the teacher as "too detached from students' realities" and "not appropriate at this time[33]." Although Susan's choices may be viewed by critics as "soft bigotry of low expectations" as she may be denying students access to what could be labeled as required quality literature, this study shows that such choices ended up not only enabling students' engagement and independent learning during reading Ella Enchanted, but these practices transferred across macrogenres and thus enhanced the mandated curriculum. The importance of the 'Medio Pollito' as a literacy entry point not only for other texts but to the kind of roles and formats that would be used later on will be discussed in detail later under the Curriculum Initiation section.

In any case, recontextualizations of distributive rules are important to note especially in contexts such as this in which educational inputs are tightly controlled and prescribed hoping to get good outputs as measured only through standardized test scores. Further, it is important to notice that control over distributive rules that make up 'official knowledge' is not exclusive to the upper reaches of educational system in this particular case. The teacher chooses otherwise as she Strategically Aligns to mandates that require her to teach the 'genre of fairytales' through a folktale relevant to the linguistic and cultural background of her students in a purposeful, goal oriented, and staged way that has proven successful to enhance these students' motivation and ability to read. This conclusion will be elaborated throughout this chapter.

Second, ideas that construct students as non readers were reproduced and uttered by different students in this classroom in many forms along the course of this study. Some representative examples are "Reading is my worst enemy" (uttered by a student as

response to the teacher encouraging her class to read); "I am a zero" (referring to the scale from 1-4 used in Standardized Tests in Massachusetts); "y yo que no se leer" ("and I that don't know how to read" uttered by a student as a response to the teacher coming up with reasons why the student was unsuccessful in reading a passage out loud), and "those in READ 180 end up selling hamburgers in McDonalds" ("uttered in the context of a conversation about college"). All of these utterances have intertextual references to other textual and non-textual experiences (including texts produced by lived experiences). It is clear that students are well aware that reading has deep connections with other facets of life and that it means much more than deciphering words on a page.

The essential grammar of pedagogic discourse that strategically aligns is thus made up of ideational and interpersonal choices that are organized and find their realization through textual resources. As exemplified above in the specific context of classroom interaction, distributive, recontextualizing, and evaluative rules are constitutive parts of this realization. The pedagogic genre as purposeful was also addressed, but goal orientedness and staged structure could not be addressed in detail because they are more difficult to discuss thoroughly with only one excerpt. Such discussion will be addressed in the following section.

The excerpt above represents ideas, relations, and cultural ways of pedagogizing knowledge and producing literate worlds in the focal classroom. The actual realization of such literacy choices, to reiterate and add up to Alan Luke's point made earlier, is certainly constrained and enabled by the changing economics and politics of society in general and schooling and surrounding communities in particular, what I have been referring to in the previous sections as, "pedagogic reservoirs", but also, and in very

important ways, constrained and enabled by the particular teacher who guides the literacy process, what I also referred to as, "pedagogic repertoire".[34] An important part of this pedagogic repertoire in Susan is her Strategic Alignment; her values, assumptions, and priorities about teaching and learning. Another essential part of Susan's pedagogic repertoire is the way lessons are structured and organized; the structural features of Susan's pedagogic practice.

The remainder of the chapter focuses on analyzing in detail the "context of classroom culture" (the next level on Susan Pedagogic Repertoire graphic) and argues that the pedagogic practices in this classroom are indeed a form of genre, a pedagogic genre. The focal point in this part of the study is pedagogic discourse as it is realized linguistically in focal classroom interaction. Under the SFL approach taken here, these choices are mediated by ideology, genre, and register variables (see figure 12). This second section of this chapter analyzes genre and register variables in two focal Macrogenres and argues (1) that the focal teacher constructs (with the students) a purposeful, goal oriented, and staged structure for her classes and that (2) such 'pedagogic genre' is realized through lexico-grammatical choices that Strategically Align as they assemble a culturally and linguistically nurturing environment for struggling readers.

Purposeful teaching refers to the enduring meaning of education (what stays after all teaching is over) and is not necessarily related to a content area in specific but to forming or transforming literacy identities. This is exemplified by Susan's genuine intention at teaching to transform, transgress, and recontextualize barriers as not necessarily stemming from the individual but of unequal social relationships. Among

other things, Susan was purposeful in attempting to transform students' ingrained deficit identities as readers.

Goal-oriented refers to specific and context bound objectives of each of the lessons and the macrogenres. The goal orientedness of Susan's lessons was not only evident in the lessons per se, but they clearly were treated as a means to an ends; as skills and knowledge that will be instrumental for broader and more enduring purposes. This highly encouraging environment realized linguistically mainly through classroom talk, I will argue, may be based upon Susan's belief (reflected in her contextualized pedagogic practice) that education should be *equitably* accountable to state and federal mandates and standards, to students' rights, needs and backgrounds, and to established pedagogical 'thought collectives' of the teaching profession. Such ensembles of choices are certainly ideological choices that make up certain perspective of the world. In this study, 'equitable accountability' to the issues referred to above is equated to Strategic Alignment, a concept that emerged out of the analysis of the focal classroom.

The Lesson as a Genre: Purposeful, Goal Oriented, and Staged Instruction for Struggling Readers in Two Focal Macrogenres

As it was explained in the methodology section, the notion of lesson as a genre enables the possibility of an analysis of purpose, goal, and the stages of lessons. The notion of macrogenres ensures that analysis of individual lessons and micro interactions in such lessons are contextualized within a larger unit of analysis. The two macrogenres chosen for analysis will be referred to as 'the fairy tale' macrogenre and the 'MCAS' macrogenre. The analysis will center on describing "the context of culture" in this case the 'context of *classroom* culture'. Specifically, this is an attempt to map out the

representative generic moves of representative lessons that constitute the two macrogenres that seek to demonstrate the co-construction of the classroom's particular pedagogic genre as a purposeful, goal oriented, and staged structure for teaching and how the realization of this type of pedagogic genre was accomplished through lexico-grammatical choices that assemble a culturally and linguistically nurturing environment for struggling readers. The following diagram seeks to illustrate in a general sense the genre, register, and lexicogrammatical patterns that make interaction in the focus classroom possible. As the chapter continues, specific examples on each of the depicted areas will be presented.

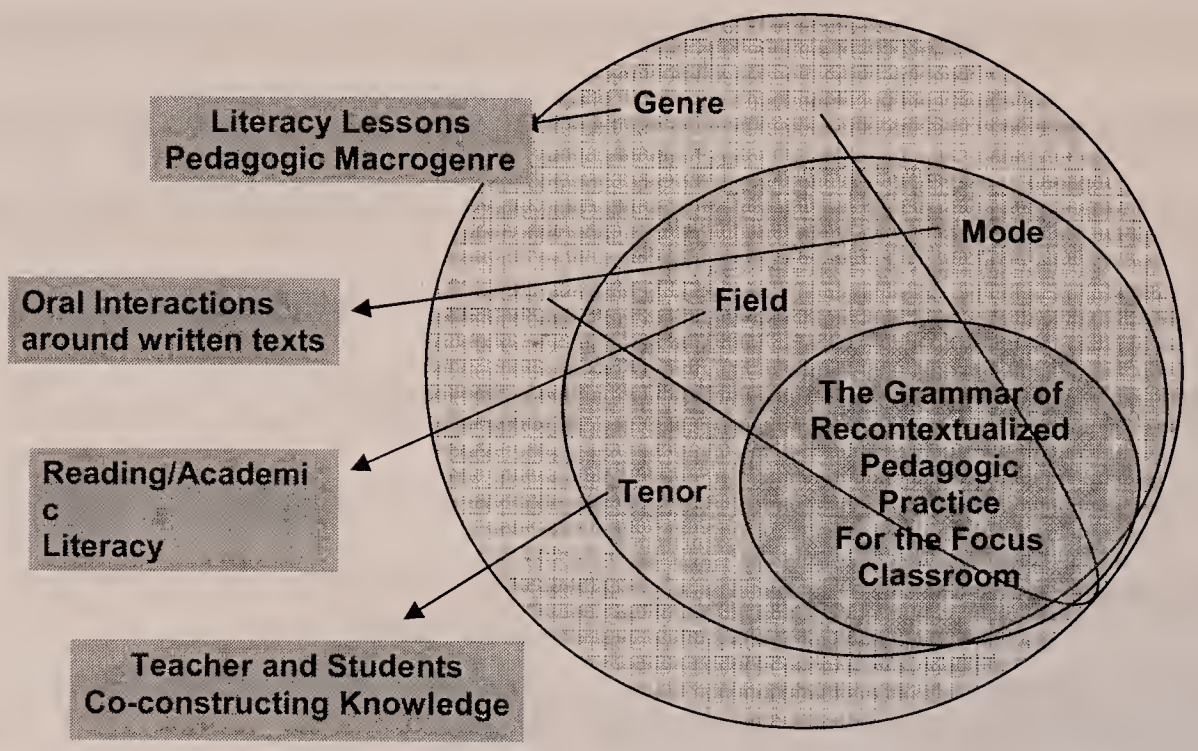


Figure 13. The Lesson as a Genre in the Focal Classroom

The focal genre (pedagogic genre) analyzed is the literacy lesson. The overall field or topic of these literacy lessons is reading and academic literacy. In the example above, the field dealt with folktales and specifically "El Medio Pollito". The predominant mode or channel of communication is oral interactions about written texts and the tenor or interactional relationship these texts seek to accomplish circle around teachers and students co-constructing knowledge. As just stated, extensive illustrations of these will be

presented later. For now, it is worth highlighting that because the analysis starts with what is actually accomplished in interaction and along with a functional perspective is interested in exploring the structure of the language as it relates to the function it is seeking to accomplish, this analysis will be labeled as a bottom-up analysis.

That is, a bottom-up approach is favored here as a way to highlight the structural and lexico grammatical choices particular of the lessons analyzed and to minimize the influential effect of an analysis based on any standard or scripted plan suggested elsewhere. Somewhat frequent references will be given to the prescribed materials Susan had to use but only to reference what and how she recontextualized them. The following table illustrates four macrogenres identified throughout the academic year. Out of these four, only two (the ones in the shaded area) are the focus in this study.

Macrogenre	Characteristics	Duration
Accommodation Time to Read 180	Read 180 Training Change in Schedule, Change of Students Technical Accommodations	Mid September-Mid November
Fairy Tales Genre (America's Choice)	Highly Recontextualized (i.e., selection of Different texts -different from the ones promoted by America's Choice).	Mid November-Mid January
Testing Genre- MCAS Preparation (America's Choice)	Highly Recontextualized (i.e., provided Extra scaffolding against recommendations of America's Choice).	Beginning of February-End of March
Child Labor Unit	Highly Recontextualized (i.e., extended over limit; reached out to community; included Critical Literacy-action).	April-May

Figure 14. Academic Year Identified Macrogenres

The Fairytale Macrogenre

As it can be seen in the table, the fairytales or folktales macrogenre took place for a period of approximately two months. To facilitate the analysis of individual lessons that will be carried out later in the chapter, the components of macrogenres, namely, curricular initiation, curriculum negotiation, and curriculum closure identified by Christie (2001) will be followed for now. In the last part of the present chapter however, I will be making significant additions to these components in order to engage in a more detailed analysis of representative lessons within each macrogenre stage.

During the stage of recursive analysis, a software retrieval of the interactions that took place during the curriculum initiation and curriculum negotiation proved to be highly relevant for the purposes of this study. The curriculum closure stage proved to be less relevant as a diminished pedagogical recontextualization of curriculum was observed and thus it will not be addressed. Such analysis will be highly interesting but at this point it extends outside the scope of this study. External factors associated with the pressure to turn out a tangible product of learning and/or to 'cover' the full extent of the prescribed curriculum seemed to be important contributing factors to this lack of recontextualization. The lack of contextualization, however, will be the center of the analysis later in the chapter as I describe how external factors associated with America's Choice curricular guidelines prevented Susan from providing students with an effective pedagogical introduction that would hook and engage students with enduring purposes of the MCAS macrogenre.

For clarity reasons, the purposeful and goal oriented aspects of Susan's pedagogic repertoire or pedagogic genre will be embedded within the discussion of the two

macrogenres with a little more detail on the folktale macrogenre. The staged characteristics of focal lessons will be addressed later in the chapter with a little more emphasis on the MCAS macrogenre. This is done in order to provide enough details about each of the macrogenres while analyzing different aspects of them. In order to provide a sense of the general organization of the fairy tale macrogenre, the diagram below details the duration of its three components and specifies materials that played a pivotal role in lessons. As already stated, no extra attention will be given to the curriculum closure.

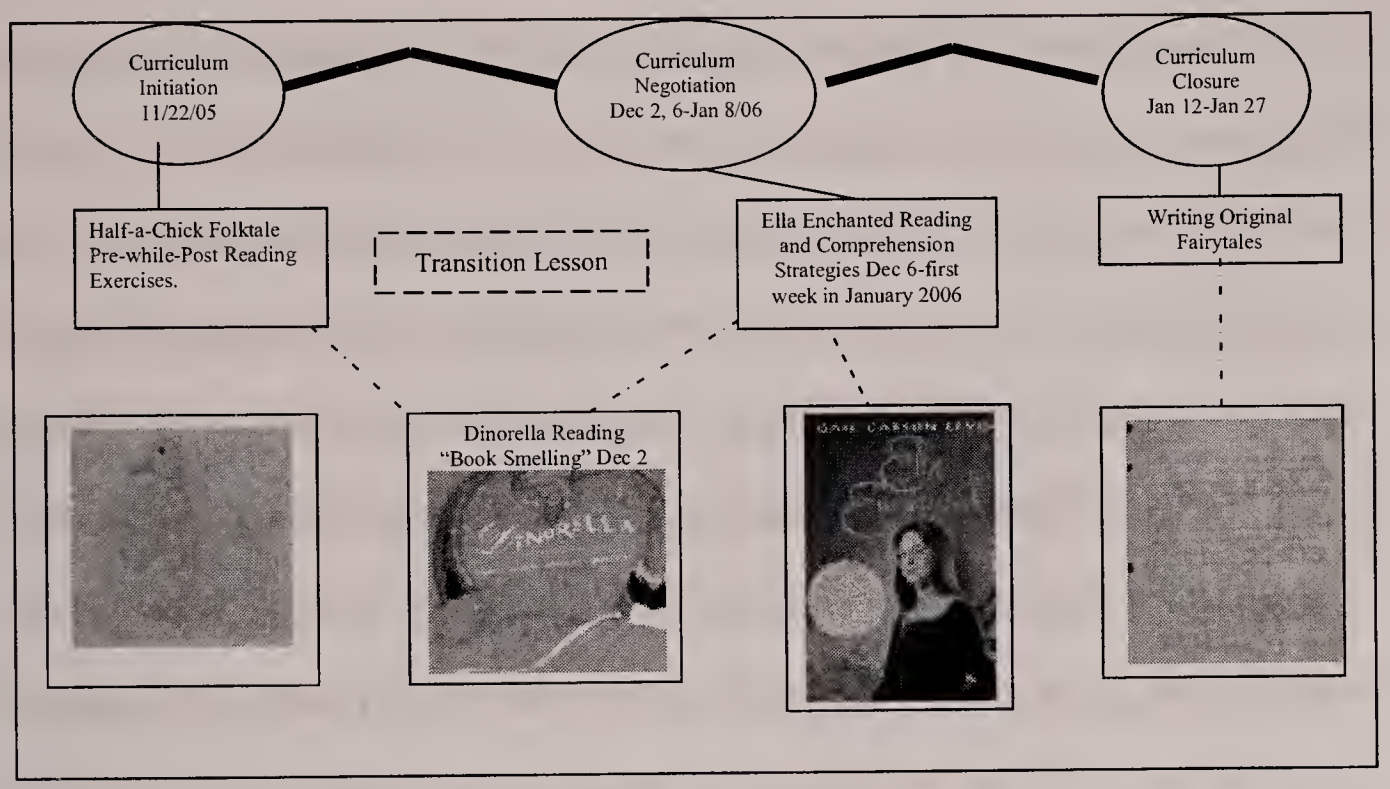


Figure 15. The Fairy Tale Macrogenre Constituents and Classroom Materials

It is important to notice that the first two materials depicted above (Half-a-Chick drawing by student and cover of Dinorella story) were teacher-chosen materials. Reading Ella Enchanted out loud and writing an original fairy tale were mandated materials and practices prescribed by America's Choice. The curriculum closure time was too short to accomplish a final product in which students were asked to produce a children's book using fairytales. Yet, as America's Choice required this product from all students in the

city (including the ones in READ 180), no attempt was made to modify the task and recontextualize it. In this case, Susan was strategically aligning by foregrounding mandates and standards and leaving students' rights, needs, and academic and cultural backgrounds and thought collectives of the teaching profession temporarily in the background. In the end, children's books were not produced and what students could accomplish were drafts of short fairytales.

Curriculum Initiation: Getting Students into Fairy Tales

As already stated, the scheduled folktale to initiate the unit was "Ella Enchanted". In a move that strategically aligned with America's Choice recommendations, Susan decided that beginning with such fairytale was not appropriate for her students. This is when she relied on my Latin background (I am from Colombia) to suggest a fairy tale or folktale she could use as a culturally and linguistically relevant entry point into this genre. Since all Latino students in this classroom were from Puerto Rico or Puerto Rican background, it seemed logical to suggest "El Medio Pollito" as I knew this was a popular folktale in Puerto Rico and I had used this text before. When I presented the text to her, along with some activities I designed for it, Susan immediately decided to use it[35] as a more "appropriate alternative for my (her) classroom" (Fieldnotes Nov 17, 2005). Days later, she introduced the class to "El Medio Pollito" as a way to accomplish an overarching goal of the city:

1. Susan:…and in the city of (name of city) the children are going to write a
2. children's book. They're going to make up a folktale or fairytale and make it
3. into a story for kids. So they are going to study fairytales for about next month
4. or so. You guys are going to do the same thing down here and our first fairy
5. tale that we are going to do is called this:
6. (HOLDS UP A DRAWING OF A PECULIAR CHICK WITH THE LABEL:

7. "EL MEDIO POLLITO")
8. Students: El medio Pollito (STUDENTS READ FROM THE SHEET)
9. Susan: Have you ever heard of this? (STUDENTS KEEP LAUGHING)
10. Luis: Le falta una alita (he lacks one wing).
11. (LUIS LAUGHS LOUDER)
12. S1: Se murio (he died) (KEEPS LAUGHING)
13. S1: //Yo le corte las alas (I cut his
14. wings).
15. Susan: What do you notice about him (name of student 1), look at him
16. S2: doesn't have fur.
17. S1: No tiene un ojo (it does not have an eye).
18. Susan: Why?
19. S3: because it doesn't have one eye, one...
20. Susan: //One eye, one wing and, one leg. He's
21. half chick.

In this excerpt, Susan initially frames the goal of the city as the goal for the classroom as well. However, from the very beginning of the unit it was clear that Susan did not adhere to the product-oriented goal America's Choice had devised for the city. A strong indication of this is the inclusion of Half-a-Chick in the curriculum and the minor attention Susan ended up paying to creating a children's book. Susan uses the Medio Pollito as a means to an ends; as a necessary "literacy entry point" for these students. This entry point needed to be introduced thoroughly and comprehensively as it was intended to inform about the topic (fairytales) and set the tone for the kind of roles and formats that were possible in this classroom. It is in this way, that the more than two weeks devoted to "El Medio Pollito" can be thought of as an extended orientation not just for the fairytales macrogenre, but for the entire academic year. Later in the chapter, I will again address this point in detail as I demonstrate how the whole "Medio Pollito" endeavor functions as a macrorientation for the fairytales macrogenre.

Coming back to the point made earlier about taking "El Medio Pollito" as a necessary entry point for these students, it could be said that Susan knew that both Ella

Enchanted and the fairytales genre were not only new to her students but of little or no relevance to them. By temporarily dropping Ella Enchanted and replacing it with a text that was culturally relevant for her students, Susan was able to reduce the level of uncertainty to only the target genre. The purposeful and goal oriented nature of her pedagogic practice is demonstrated here as her decisions are guided by a thoughtful sense of context. Strategic alignment is evident as she foregrounded both pedagogic principles she has learned from her practice (thought collectives) and students' cultural backgrounds to better serve all stakeholders, including state and America's Choice mandates.

In fact, a clear but by no means certain intertextual link that further provides evidence of the foregrounding of though collectives in the service of student learning will be explored now. This intertextual link can be used to correlate Susan's decision to include "El Medio Pollito" as a scaffold for Ella enchanted with the book "*Scaffolding Reading Experiences for English-Language Learners*" (Fitzgerald, J., & Graves, M., 2003), which she used as a constant reference during one of her ACCELA's master's class called "Teaching Content for Language Development." In one of the sections of the book which explores the idea of modifying the text as a way to ensure that English Language Readers "engage in meaning making and will gain new knowledge, new insights, and a sense of accomplishment from a reading selection", Fitzgerald and Graves advise teachers that:

> For some students achieving success requires your presenting a selection in a format that is a variation of the original. Sometimes because of what is either required by your school district or what is available, or because the text is mismatched to your English-Language learners' current English reading levels, the material may be too challenging for some students. In these cases, modifying or shortening the selection is a viable option. (p. 193-94)

In this case, she chose to modify the required text by America's choice by actually focusing on a shorter text such as "El Medio Pollito." Later in the section ("Non-Conventional Readers Engage in Non-Conventional Ways"), Susan recurs to the strategy to modify a text but chooses to do so in a different way and with the purpose of calling the attention to a specific student to a detail in the text that Susan considered essential if he was to comprehend the purpose of the text. In any case, Her thoughtful sense of context during this initiating stage of curriculum is especially demonstrated by paying close attention to her specific audience of struggling adolescent readers who hold a negative opinion about themselves as readers and may withdraw from any academic activity altogether in order to avoid failure. Susan's perceived objectives during this first curricular stage seem to be ambitious but essential: to engage disenchanted readers through culturally responsive literature and pedagogy and to get students into fairy tales through both explicit and holistic attention to the genre structure of these specific texts. More technically, the whole macrogenre was set up to enhance control over ideational, interpersonal, and textual meanings in the specified genre. As it was discussed earlier, the fact that El Medio Pollito was chosen is an already significant point that challenges the prescribed curriculum by enhancing it. Specific examples of culturally responsive pedagogy as well as explicit instruction of generic features of the target genre will be detailed now.

Engaging Struggling Readers: Culturally Responsive Literature and Pedagogy

Increased performance in schooling is measured by student's engagement in thoughtful reading, writing and discussion (Langer, 2001). Facilitating an engaging

learning environment in which disenchanted readers *want* to read is not only crucial but a very challenging endeavor. If it is to be effective, this environment needs to be initially facilitated by the teacher who needs to carefully craft learning experiences to gradually pass on responsibility for learning to the students. In Susan's case, this gradual release of responsibility happens in processes and its interactions, and not necessarily in concentrating on a product. Susan's instruction sees products (i.e., producing a children's book) as a by-product of other enduring learning processes. Thus, initial and continued attention is given to the practices, habits, and instruction that build up in students intrinsically and not extrinsically. In Susan's instruction during this macrogenre, prompting students to read is not based on the premise that such reading would help them pass a test. Rather, it is built on the premise that such reading will build up knowledge (i.e., generic structures, strategies to monitor comprehension) that will be important when reading and/or producing texts (including tests) that they will encounter in both academic and non academic settings .

During the curricular initiation phase in which students read, discussed, and completed comprehension exercises on Half-a-Chick, students engaged with the text in ways that seemed genuine, purposeful, and enduring. As a result of Susan's careful attention to purposeful and goal oriented teaching, students' took initiative in their learning, they took risks, and they engaged with the text in conventional and sometimes non conventional ways. Such a positive engagement of students with texts and with their own learning will be illustrated in the next section.

The Many Faces of Student Engagement

Recall that when Susan presented the Half-a-Chick text (two excerpts discussed above) students reacted with laughter and when prompted to read, a student claimed that they could not read. After another student expressed that they knew how to read and the teacher unambiguously asserted that they *did* know how to read, many students showed eagerness to read the story:

1. S1: I'll read it miss, I'll read it. (RAISING HAND INSISTENTLY)
2. Susan: I'll fill the words you don't know.
3. S1: I'll read it.
4. Susan: //Good.
5. S1: (TAKES THE TEXT AND LOOKS AT IT) Don't look at me, look at paper.
6. (AS THEY KEEP TALKING S1 PRACTICES READING THE WORDS TO
7. HIMSELF)
8. Susan: (TALKS TO ALL THE CLASS) Don't worry, I'll fill in the words for you
9. ok?
10. You know how you fill in the blanks for me, I'll fill in the blanks for you.
11. S2: I'll read it.
12. Class: (unintelligible)
13. S2: I'll read it.
14. Susan: (TO S2) Well, you can read the next part.
15. S1: go you [sic] first. I second.

Student 2 gets to read the background on folktales on Puerto Rico. With difficulty, he reads the beginning of a passage.

> S2: *"The folktales of Puerto Rico reflect the culture of the people who have lived or influenced the lifestyle of those people living there, the Tainos, the Spaniards, and the Africans. The historical reality of Puerto Rico is that it became part of the modern world as we know it today after Cristobal Colon..."*

At this point, the student reading was so choppy and unintelligible that one of the students complained out loud.

S3: Damn! Teacher!

The teacher shushed the student with a gesture as she made a soft shushing sound.

The student kept reading choppily and he again seemed to be stuck with a word.

> *...encountered the island on November 19, 1493. Taino stories, which would be the only...authentic*
> S: authentic, real.
> S2: Authentic //(SOFTLY TO HIMSELF) (THE STUDENT THEN TRIED FOR A COUPLE OF SECONDS TO CONTINUE READING. HE TRIED TO SOUND OUT THE WORD THAT FOLLOWED AND EVEN POINTED AT THE TEXT WITH HIS FINGER)
> S: // The real…the real stories from Puerto Rico would be Taino but guess what?... They say they are not in existence, they do not exist. After Christopher Colombus came to Puerto Rico and the Tainos were pretty much wiped out so were all the folktales and the stories (STUDENTS REMAIN SILENT BUT INTERESTED)

At this point, S2 is asked to finish reading the background. However, student 3 (the one that had complained earlier about S2's choppy and almost intelligible reading) asks:

S3: What is a folktale?

The students who were close to him began laughing at him. They could not believe he was asking such a 'dumb' question. The teacher dismissed the question as dumb right away when she said:

S: That's a great question. It is not an easy question and we'll try to answer it.

A little later into the lesson, Susan again took up the question and purposefully elevated it to the status of an essential question:

> S: you did a great job reading that description. Thank you (NAME OF STUDENT 2). and now…(NAME OF STUDENT 3) asked the great question of the day…What is a Folktale and hopefully you'll be able to tell me by the time we finish this [REFERING TO THE UNIT].

Susan had accomplished important things during the beginning of this lesson that should be highlighted. First, she had promoted an environment in which

taking the initiative and taking risks is encouraged. When the student who had positioned himself and others as non-readers was confronted by another student who then was backed up strongly by the teacher and her authority, deficit ideas about their literacy identities were recontextualized collaboratively by students and the teacher into perseverance and effort. This reframing of literacy work set the tone for what would happen later in the lesson, the macrogenre, and the academic year. In this specific case, negative literacy identities were sent to the background as students felt a natural curiosity about the culturally relevant folktale they were to read. This is evidenced in the fact that two of the students who were most challenged to read out loud volunteered to do so and one of them even asked the fundamental question of the initiation stage of the macrogenre: what is a folktale.

The reframing of deficit literacy identities assumptions paired up with the highly motivational and culturally relevant text seemed to have prompted students to take initiatives and risks. This initiating stage of the macrogenre was significant as it not only marked the initiation of a new curricular unit on specific narrative genres, but it was the linchpin of literacy enhancement and motivation for struggling readers in this classroom throughout the academic year.

In the excerpt above, reluctant readers were heard saying "I'll read it", and not only this, but they were doing so in the presence of another of these students wanting to read also. This was most significant as the student who had volunteered to read first, gave the opportunity to another student who clearly had a lot of problems decoding the text. The role of sharing a reading excerpt, traditionally allocated by a teacher in charge, is played in this excerpt by a student. This change

in traditional roles talks about a more enduring purpose in any lesson: in order to get students engaged in enduring learning processes, children need to be drawn to ask essential questions pertaining to the nature of the text they are reading. This is the case of the question "What is a Folktale."

Such kinds of questions are more effective if the students ask them themselves. Such process does not happen by chance and can only be partially prepared. It needs to be incorporated carefully into the lesson by building up upon ideas that seem relevant to students. Susan explicitly led the students into asking this question and built their curiosity by not answering right away, but letting it be answered as they experienced the text.

Other ways of promoting engagement abounded in this classroom. I will argue that they are possible in part (1) because of Susan's capacity of reading her students' non-conventional ways of engagement; (2) because she was proactive into making students not only engaged but responsible for their own learning; and (3) because Susan was able to create an environment in which non-traditional roles for herself and for her students were readily available. The following tables reproduce excerpt (4, 5?) already analyzed and provide yet another kind of analysis that highlights the availability of the non-traditional roles just mentioned, one that is possible due to the SFL approach taken here. That is, bringing back this excerpt for recursive analysis gives account of the richness, variety, and depth of SFL analysis.

To make matters simple, the excerpt is reproduced again with numbered lines for easy reference. It should be noted that when italics are used, they signal that the text is being read out loud. After this, two tables highlighting teachers' and

students' perceived attitudes and the perceived traditional or non-traditional role of their interactions follow. That is, students and teachers had their turn talk that Their respective turn at talk will also be numbered. In some instances in which the roles are not as clear cut, the interaction is recorded in the spaces corresponding to both the traditional and non-traditional roles.

1 S1: I'll read it miss, I'll read it.
2 Susan: I'll fill the words you don't know.
3 S1: I'll read it.
4 Susan: //Good.
5 S1: (TAKES THE TEXT AND LOOKS AT IT) Don't look at me, look at paper.
6 (AS THEY KEEP TALKING S1 PRACTICES READING THE WORDS TO HIMSELF)
7 Susan: (TALKS TO ALL THE CLASS) Don't worry, I'll fill in the words for you ok? You know how you
fill in the blanks for me, I'll fill in the blanks for you.
8 S2: I'll read it.
9 Class: (unintelligible)
10 S2: I'll read it.
11 Susan: (TO S2) Well, you can read the next part.
12 S1: go you [sic] first. I second.
13 S2: (READS THE BACKGROUND ON FOLKTALES ON PUERTO RICO WITH DIFFICULTY)
14 S3: Damn! Teacher! (COMPLAINING TO S2 CHOPPY READING).
15 Susan: (SHUSHES THE STUDENT WITH A GESTURE AS SHE MAKES A SOFT SHUSHING SOUND)
16 S2: (THE STUDENT KEPT READING CHOPPILY AND HE AGAIN WAS STUCK WITH A WORD).
...encountered the island on November 19, 1493. Taino stories, which would be the only...(STRUGGLES WITH WORD AUTHENTIC)
17 Susan: authentic, real.
18 S2: Authentic (SOFTLY TO HIMSELF) (THE STUDENT THEN TRIED FOR A COUPLE OF SECONDS TO CONTINUE READING. HE TRIED TO SOUND OUT THE WORD THAT FOLLOWED AND EVEN POINTED AT THE TEXT WITH HIS FINGER)
19 Susan: The real…the real stories from Puerto Rico would be Taino but guess what?... They say they are not in existence, they do not exist. After Christopher Colombus came to Puerto Rico and the Tainos were pretty much wiped out so were all the folktales and the stories.
20 Susan: (ASKS S2 TO FINISH READING THE BACKGROUND).
21 S3: What is a folktale?

Table 5. Teacher's Roles and Attitudes

Line #	Descriptors	Traditional	Non-Traditional
2	**Helper**	S: I'll fill the words you don't know.	
4	**Evaluator**	S: //Good.	
7	**Extended Helper (Gives reason)**		S: (TALKS TO ALL THE CLASS) Don't worry, I'll fill in the words for you ok? You know how you fill in the blanks for me, I'll fill in the blanks for you.
11	**Structurer**	S: (TO S2) Well, you can read the next part.	
15	**Advocate**	The teacher shushed the student with a gesture as she made a soft shushing sound.	
17	**Clarificator**	S: authentic, real.	
19	**Extended Advocate**		S: The real…the real stories from Puerto Rico would be Taino but guess what?... They say they are not in existence, they do not exist. After Christopher Colombus came to Puerto Rico and the Tainos were pretty much wiped out so were all the folktales and the stories.
20	**Structurer**	S2 is asked to finish reading the background.	

Table 6. Students' Roles and Attitudes

Line #	Descriptors	Traditional	Non-Traditional
1	**Takes Initiative**		S1: I'll read it miss, I'll read it.
3	**Continued Interest in Reading**		S1: I'll read it.
5	**Takes Initiative (Structurer)**		S1: (TAKES THE TEXT, LOOKS AT IT, AND SAYS TO STUDENTS) Don't look at me, look at paper. (AS THEY KEEP TALKING S1 PRACTICES READING THE WORDS TO HIMSELF)
6	**Continued Interest in Reading**		(AS THEY KEEP TALKING S1 PRACTICES READING THE WORDS TO HIMSELF)
8	**Takes initiative**		S2: I'll read it.
10	**Takes Initiative**		S2: I'll read it.
12	**Takes Initiative (Structurer)**		S1: go you [sic] first. I second.
13	**Reading out Loud**	(Student 2 begins. He reads the background on folktales on Puerto Rico with difficulty)	
14	**Student Complains about Self or other Reading Skills**	S3: Damn! Teacher!	
16	**Reading out Loud despite a lot of difficulties**		The student kept reading choppily and he again was stuck with a word. (usually, a student would withdraw or would not volunteer to continue). *...encountered the island on November 19, 1493. Taino stories, which would be the only...(STRUGGLES WITH WORD AUTHENTIC)*
18	**Continued Interest in Reading**		S2: Authentic (SOFTLY TO HIMSELF) (THE STUDENT THEN TRIED FOR A COUPLE OF SECONDS TO CONTINUE READING. HE TRIED TO SOUND OUT THE WORD THAT FOLLOWED AND EVEN POINTED AT THE TEXT WITH HIS FINGER)
21	**Asking Essential Questions**		Student 3 (the one that had complained earlier about S2's choppy and almost intelligible reading) asks: S3: What is a folktale?

As a result of Susan's careful attention to purposeful, goal oriented, and staged teaching, students' engaged with the text in different and sometimes non conventional ways. Let us not forget that this interaction was a follow up to the motivational work Susan had already done by selecting a piece of literature that called students' attention. When prompted to read, students were already eager to do so (line 1, 3). The previous example is significant because it speaks to one of the fundamental elements of the SFL theory: the linguistic construction of interpersonal relations or Interpersonal metafunction. Interpersonal relationships include perceived power relations between students and teacher, their level of involvement, and their frequency of contact. In other words, they make up the tenor of the conversation. These relations are reflected in the roles that became available in the class.

As it can be seen from the first table, Susan's most common roles are strikingly traditional for a teacher: helper, evaluator, structurer, advocate, clarificator, structurer (Lines 2, 4, 11, 15, 17, and 20 respectively). However, it seems that her non-traditional roles of extended helper and extended advocate prompted students to also take extended roles, including those non-traditionally performed by students in general and struggling readers in particular. This is illustrated throughout the excerpt and begins to be more evident in line 7 when Susan advises the class not to worry because when they are reading she will fill in the words for them. Susan reassures students as she promises to help them by filling words in case they get stuck at any point. To illustrate the shape such help may take place, Susan refers to the fact that when she reads aloud, students are often call to fill in the words for her, and 'help' her read the text.

For example, in line 2, Susan tells the students: "I'll fill the words you don't know." With this, S1 feels safe to try, begins practicing the words (line 5) but expresses insecurity as he explicitly directs students not to look at him but to focus on the paper (line 5). As Susan perceives this lack of confidence, she goes beyond just offering help and explicitly tells all the students not to worry as she then gives an illustration of the kind of help the student will get.

> *Susan: Don't worry, I'll fill in the words for you ok? You know how you fill in the blanks for me, I'll fill in the blanks for you.*

This repeated and extended reassurance on Susan's part (initially stated in line 2) encouraged S2 to want to read as well. More importantly, this reassurance may be directly responsible for triggering a series of situations in which students took initiative to read (lines 8 and 10 and very likely line 9) and other traditional and non-traditional roles such as structuring the class (line 12) and reading out loud despite the risk of being criticized by peers (lines 13 and 14 respectively).

Once student 3 overtly criticizes his classmate for the choppy reading he was doing, Susan took up the role of advocate and clarificator (lines 14 and 15 respectively). It was no mystery for everybody listening to the read aloud that student 2 was struggling a lot with reading and specifically with the word authentic. As S2 continued reading the text to himself, perhaps trying to practice the text before he had to finish it, Susan extended her explanation of authentic (line 19) in order to save face for the student and give him some time to read and practice to himself the remainder of the text. Her role here is not just that of the typical teacher who advocates for the student (i.e., *please listen. Your classmate is talking*) but that of an extended advocate as Susan realized the significance of a struggling reader in eight grade not only making an effort to read out

loud but running the risk of being ridiculed by others. Susan's intervention in line 19 was strategic and functionally motivated: it refocused students' attention to the learning rather than the deficit. This important pedagogic recontextualization not only prompted S2 into finishing the background on Folktales he was reading. More importantly, it moved S3 from a criticism mind frame to an active learner mind frame. S3 went from complaining loudly about his classmate's choppy reading (*Damn! Teacher* in line 14) to asking the essential question for the class and the whole macrogenre: *What is a folktale* (line 21).

The construction of a space in which students take responsibility for their learning and they feel willing and safe to take risks to learn is a slow, uneven, and sometimes contradictory process. The following excerpt is very similar to the one just analyzed: a student reading out loud and struggling to decode the text. The excerpt is relevant for several reasons but I would like to reference only two at this time. First, the kid who is having trouble decoding the text is the same kid that in the previous excerpt complained about his classmate's choppy reading but then changed her mind frame and asked the enduring question already referenced. The kid depicted in the following excerpt needed serious accommodations for learning including a paraprofessional who would follow him to every class and who was in charge (among other things) to read to him and to write what he would dictate. This was necessary due to the specifications of his Individualized Educational Plan (IEP) and because of a mild case of cerebral aphasia he has. This classroom episode is also relevant because it took part in the second macrogenre (the MCAS macrogenre) a little more than four months after the excerpt already analyzed and thus it provides a somewhat more ample picture of the way the classroom relations evolved over time.

In the following excerpt, the students are reading out loud from one of the chapters of a play by Hispanic author Gary Soto called "Novio Boy." Students chose the characters they wanted to portray and they were in charge of reading the corresponding lines for their character. Although the focus of the initial analysis is student 3, I will also make reference to other interactions that show the continuity of certain interpersonal patterns that can be traced back to the Folktales macrogenre as they show a solidification of the non-traditional roles made possible for students in this classroom and that were introduced within the Folktales macrogenre. The italics correspond to the actual words from the play.

1. S1: *I need to cut your hair*
2. Susan: Uh uh, I think your beans are burning
3. What did she say there?
4. S2: *Hay Los frijoles*
5. Susan: Yeah! She says .....
6. Hay Los frijoles
7. S3: Now me, right?
8. Susan: Yeah!
9. S2: Yeah!
10. Susan: Take your time. We won't bother you,
11. you just keep ...//
12. S3: //M-o-th-er (THEN TRIES TO SOUND OUT ANOTHER WORD)
    Skip that word. (READS TEXT WITH DIFFICULTY)
13. Susan: yeap..starts ....
14. S3: *Her I heard*
15. Susan: /*the way*
16. S3: /*the way*
17. Susan: *He does an aerobics routine*
18. S3: I'll let (Name of student) read it (PASSING THE BOOK TO STUDENT 2)
19. Susan: *He does an aerobics routine comically*... Go ahead (MAKES
20. ENCOURAGING GESTURES WITH HANDS AND FACIAL EXPRESSION)
21. S3: (LOUDLY) I can't read teacher for nothing!
22. Susan: Cause these letters, they're funny ah!
23. S3: No, they're funny and I don't know how to read either.
24. Susan: Go ahead/
25. S2: Go on!/
26. Susan: /*comically and gets* what? (S3 TRIES TO PASS THE BOOK
27. TO ANOTHER STUDENT)

28. S2: (POINTING TO STUDENT 3) He's not finished yet
29. S3: T-T-i-red
30. Susan: Tired yeah
31. S1: gets tired of (unintelligible)
32. S2: /of school
33. S1: / immediately
34. S3: A dónde yo estoy ahora? [where am I now].
35. Susan: Oh. you are doing
36. S2: (HELPING HIM LOCATE THE TEXT)
37. S3: (CONTINUES READING TEXT)
38. Susan: I gave you the hardest words to read cause nobody can read them cause they
39. are italics and they look at these //
40. S3: //Y yo que no se leer [and I don't know how to read]

One of the things that jumps out of this excerpt is the difficult time Student 1 is having as he is trying to tackle the text. He tries to make up for his difficulty in several ways: by confirming with others if it is his turn to read (line 7, Now me, right?) or asking for help to find the correct line (line 34, where am I now?), by skipping words (line 12), by repeating verbatim what the teacher says (line 16, *the way*), and by openly and repetitively recognizing himself as a non-reader (line 21, *I can't read teacher for nothing*!; line 23, *they're funny and I don't know how to read either*; and line 40, and I don't know how to read). This somewhat negative stance conforms with this student's initial complaining referenced in the previous excerpt but contrasts with the change of mind frame that led him to ask a fundamental guiding question of the Folktales macrogenre. However, it is also worth noticing that despite the fact that he stresses the negative, what he usually did in class (including some reading strategies such as skipping words) he did this time without the paraprofessional who was indeed present at this moment in the class. Besides this subtle glimpse of independence showed by student 3, this excerpt begins to take shape as a truly hopeful moment as we take a closer look at the classroom environment and at the interpersonal elements that are by this time ingrained

in this classroom's culture and that may have prompted a student with an extensive history of repeated frustration and unsuccessful literacy experiences in school to embark in participating fully in choosing a character and reading out loud for his peers.

Classroom practices that make up this classroom as a culturally and academically nurturing space in which students feel safe to take risks and take responsibility for their own learning were already referenced, lined, and sorted into teachers' and students' traditional and non-traditional roles in the context of the previous excerpt. What this last excerpt shows is not only the sustained presence of some of the same encouraging roles for teachers and learners but the extended and ingrained nature of them. For example, we could see the teacher as an advocate and extended helper when he reassures the student that he will not be bothered and that he should take his time ("*Take your time. We won't bother you*"). This pattern was a recurring one in Susan's classes and indeed was present in the previous excerpt as well. We can also see the teacher as a helper when she was assisting the student in pronouncing some words (*"the way")* and when she continually encourages him not to stop (*He does an aerobics routine comically* Go ahead!) even after the student has acknowledged that it is not that the words are funny but that he does not know how to read (*No, they're funny and I don't know how to read either*). *"I can't read teacher for nothing*!" [sic]).

This last excerpt also shows examples of non-traditional roles that the teacher and the students played and that were not as evident during the first macrogenre analyzed. One important non-traditional role that became quite common in this macrogenre was using students' Spanish as a resource. Susan asks students for clarification in Spanish (lines 2-4) even though she has a very accurate idea of what the text says (line 2). This

culturally and academically nurturing space is rounded up by the new non-traditional roles that are taken up by students at this later time within the academic year. In this particular case, it is Student 2 who puts on a 'teachers' hat' as he encourages the student to continue reading (line 26, *Go on!*) and the most surprising role of allocating talk turns when he indirectly but strongly indicates to Student 3 that he should finish reading (line 28, *He is not finished yet).* His command is indirect because he chooses the third person singular (he) to convey his message to Student 3 instead of the more direct (*you are not finished yet).* In this way, he somewhat changes the tenor of the statement. This technique is used by Susan herself quite a lot and may have been appropriated by the student at this time. S2's instruction is strong because Student 3 immediately continued reading but this time he knew that the teacher was not the only one who would help him get through his task. As it can be seen in lines 32 and 36 respectively, Student 2 first helped him complete a sentence (*school*) and then he helped him locate the text after S3 asked him for help.

At least another significant data point provides indication of Student 2 trying to play the non-traditional role of a teacher. At the beginning of this same MCAS macrogenre, the student had attempted to align to the teacher's intentions to continue with the class. The teacher had just told the students that she was about to loose her patience as he was trying unsuccessfully to move ahead with the topic of the day. After one more interruption from a student, student 2 spoke up and told the teacher:

S2: *Miss, this class is for little children... Do you have little children in this class?*

After a brief period of silence, Susan continued to the question of the day and a little later acknowledged S2's 'learning mood' by asking him if he wanted to respond the question.

The student asked Susan to repeat the question and they continued the class. It is interesting to note how this student is using language very strategically to accomplish a purpose through a highly complex interpersonal strategy. I call this interpersonal metaphor because student 2 is combining two less congruent moods (declarative and interrogative) to accomplish what traditionally or most congruently is accomplished through a command (Be quiet!; or the most usually used by middle school children in urban settings, shut up!).

These short excerpts are representative examples of how the teacher and the students participate in a pedagogic genre that is purposeful and goal oriented. As we just saw in this section, this 'pedagogic genre' is realized through lexico-grammatical choices that are functionally motivated to pull together a culturally and linguistically nurturing environment for struggling readers in which they engage in their own learning by taking risks and initiatives and by recontextualizing some of the ingrained deficit views of themselves and others into productive and deep insights or questions about specific literacy tasks and demands. In the following section, we continue exploring pedagogical recontextualizations aimed at building the nurturing environment we have been talking about. This time we pay close attention to students' different ways of interaction with literacy activities and the importance of valuing, recognizing, and promoting engagement with texts to struggling readers.

Non-Conventional Readers Engage in Conventional and Non-Conventional Ways

Susan gives some instructions before beginning to read the Folktale "El Medio Pollito". The discussion will focus on student M.

S: Take everything in your hands… and stop. If there's something you want to circle, underline or write right on the text to remind yourself of something you may do that. So you can keep your pen in your hands while reading ok. There's a word you don't know and you want to circle, be my guest. This is your text.
(M PLAYS WITH PEN)
Once upon a time and two more makes three, a beautiful hen hatched many chicks but among them there was one that was different from the others, with only one eye, one leg, and one wing. Mother Hen loved him just a little more because she felt sorry for him. So it happened that with all this extra attention, half a chick became very arrogant and conceited.
1. Susan: Do you know what conceited means?
2. C: He thinks he's better
3. (M PLAYS WITH A PEN AND SEEMS DISCONNECTED FROM THE TEXT).
4, Susan: Better…yeah, it's all about… me. I'm up here, you are under my shoes
5. (STUDENTS LISTEN).
6. C: conceited (PRACTICING THE WORD).
7. Ok?
8. (M KEEPS PLAYING WITH HIS PEN).(SUSAN LOOKS AT HIM AS SHE
9. SPEAKS)
10. Very arrogant, I just know I'm the best.
11. He would look down upon his brothers and sisters in dislike.
12. When the others made fun of him he thought it was because they were…
13. M: jealous
14. S: Jealous! (LOOKING AT M IN DISBELIEF)
15. How do you know that word, because you are not looking at the text. Your text is
16. sideways buddy look. (M LAUGHS AND TURNS THE TEXT TOWARDS
17. HIM).

Susan expresses surprise and disbelief as she learns that M intelligently fills the blank with a correct word even though he was not reading the text. As the academic year went by, similar episodes in which M would provide correct words or words for a reading passage even when he did not seem engaged were common. This was possible because Susan not only recognized ability in M, but was knowledgeable and flexible enough to make such an ability part of M's literacy development through engagement with texts. This was accomplished through modifying the form of the target text in the service of M's non-traditional way of engaging with texts. By non-traditional I mean that M had an exceptional ability to engage in filling in the blanks without necessarily

following the reading on the printed page as most students did. Although recognizing M's ability, Susan knew that at some point his constant guessing may position him at disadvantage with other students who relied both on the text and their background knowledge to make inferences.

The following excerpt depicts Susan reading to students as she leaves blank some key words which students are supposed to fill in orally. It is interesting to note that such a strategy was suggested by the READ 180 curricular guidelines and was used by Susan quite a lot. This frequency of use may not just be related to READ 180 guidelines, but it may well be related to the fact that such a strategy is quite common for elementary school teachers, which Susan used to be. M can be seen and heard saying the words *after* his classmates have read them. This sends Susan a clear indication that M needs to be prompted to participate in a different way. Susan accomplishes this at the end of the excerpt.

1. Yours was the last egg I laid. Maybe that's the reason. Half-a-chick interrupted
2. her and said coldly,
3. In the big city, I will find a …
4. Students together: Doctor! (M ALSO READS WITH STUDENTS)
5. Susan: *who will operate on me and add the parts that I'm…*
6. Students together: Missing! (M DID NOT READ WITH STUDENTS. HE
7. WAS STILL PLAYING WITH THE PEN)
8. I'm leaving as soon as I can!" Since it was useless to change Half-a-chick's
9. mind, Mother Hen decided to give him some…
10. Students together: advice (M JUST REPEATS THE WORD BUT IS NOT
11. LOOKING AT TEXT).
12. Susan: Ok. Now we are in another event. Here's one of the events that is
13. leading to the complication or problem.
14. Susan: *Listen to me*
15. Now this is really important. Here (POINTS TO THE SIDE OF THE SHEET 16. THAT SAYS "EVENT LEADING TO COMPLICATION).
17. It's letting you know. This has something to do with the problem. Listen to 18. what mother said, this is a really important part what mom is saying.
19. Listen to me my dear son:

20. Never, (TEACHER MODIFIES TEXT DRAMATICALLY)
21. never, never, never, never, never, never, never, never, ever…ever……ever
22. (AS SHE LOOKS AROUND AND THEN ZOOMS ONTO M)
23. M: walk in front of a church.
24. Susan: *Walk in front of a church* (MOVING HEAD AFFIRMATIVELY).
25. *Saint Peter and the saint*

An aspect that highlights the purposeful nature of this classroom can be seen in how Susan alters the text in the service of engagement and learning. Recall that this strategy of modifying the text was already mentioned in reference to Susan's decision to enhance the Folktales macrogenre with the inclusion of "El Medio Pollito" folktale. The reappearance of this technique can be interpreted as an indication that such practice is part of Susan's pedagogic repertoire. Furthermore, the nature of the modification of text technique as put forward by Fitzgerald and Graves is highly different from the modification of text evidenced in this excerpt. This suggests a creative appropriation of techniques that exist on the thought collective or pedagogic reservoir realm and that an experienced teacher is able to adopt and adapt into her own pedagogic repertoire to better serve specific situations and learners.

In the previous excerpt, it is important to note how Susan encourages students' voices to be part of the narrative she is reading by purposefully stopping in key words so that students fill in the gap. As stated before, M was not participating actively as he was just repeating the words his classmates read without reading them himself. Because Susan knows the text very well, she knows that M needs to really notice this part of the text actively. Thus, Susan allowed him to participate in this way up to certain point. However, as she enters into a different stage of the text that will be important later as Half a Chick ended up not following

Mother Hen's advice and getting into deep trouble, she dramatically modifies the text by inserting a string of repetitive 'nevers' which prompted M not only to look at the text, but to find the phrase needed to complete the idea, and to read out loud.

Susan recontextualizes the task of reading out loud to students first by allowing students voices into the narrative and second by modifying the text allowing non-conventional ways of engaging with texts through non-conventional pedagogical techniques. These accommodations could also be seen less as commitments to non-conventionality and more with the informed, principled, and contextual construction of her pedagogic repertoire. In pure linguistic terms we could say that such text modifications transform the lexicogrammatical patterns of the text that was read as new words or patterns are introduced. However, such a linguistic analysis needs to come back to the question that was proposed at the very beginning of this chapter: If linguistic choices respond to the function they seek to accomplish, what would their function be in the focal classroom studied here? It seems that we have a way of beginning to respond to this question by saying that one of the functions seems to be to engage *all* students differentially into texts. Differentially because, as it is with M's case, the more traditional approach that was engaging other students was not engaging him as hoped.

Another representative way in which Susan transforms classroom focal texts in the service of students' engagement involves changing original participants in the text and substituting them for participants that are closer to the students' lives. Reading the section describing how Half a Chick was so conceited that he felt he

was better than anyone else in the chicken coup, Susan purposefully brings the text closer to students by involving them as direct participants.

1. Susan Reading aloud: *So it happened that with all this extra attention Half-a-chick*
2. *became very arrogant and conceited; he would look down upon his brothers and 3.*
3. *sisters with dislike.*
4. Susan: (ADDRESSING LIBARDO DIRECTLY) Libardo, he thinks he is better
5. than me!
6. M: he thinks he is better than you Libardo!
7. Libardo: I'll beat him

This short but revealing excerpt shows the degree in which M is now engaged with the text. Enhancing Susan's purpose to involve students more by changing participants, M decides to instigate Libardo and calls him into action. The words "I'll beat him" suggest that this was indeed the case. By changing the participants, Susan not only brings the text closer to students so that they can engage with it. She does so by modifying the register of the text as it is no longer a text to be read but an oral discussion. Using SFL theory, this transformation of written genres into oral ones can be discussed at length as a textual recontextualization. However, what will be highlighted is that the modification of text type or genre is done with a clear purpose: to engage students by means of changing the tenor of the text. This is done by directly implicating the readers with a situation that is happening in a story as it is the case with the last interaction. Even though the affective involvement of readers with the text should not be equated with automatic or even enhanced comprehension, such involvement can now be counted as one of the possible overdeterminants enhancing comprehension.

That is, while engagement alone cannot and should not be equated with reading comprehension, the data in this study illustrates once more what other research has consistently shown: student's engagement in thoughtful reading, writing and discussion

increases performance in schooling (Langer, 2001). Based on this previous research and on the increased levels of involvement of focal students described here, it could be suggested that there may be a positive relationship between students' engagement and their future increase in school performance. Such correlation, however, is not the object of this study although it could be attempted using regression analysis provided that quantifiable variables of engagement levels are operationalized appropriately.

For now, a further illustration of how Susan transforms the tenor of the written texts for discussion in class by means of changing its participants follows. Providing further evidence of this important transformation may be key in understanding what I mean when I say that in this classroom lexico-grammatical choices are not only functionally motivated but they serve student learning. The following example is not taken from the Folktales but from the MCAS macrogenre. This distinction needs to be bore in mind if we take into consideration that, as we have explored at length in this chapter, the Folktales macrogenre was highly recontextualized (making the unthinkable thinkable) with the inclusion of the Half-a-Chick folktale in the curriculum initiation stage of the genre. In the last section of this chapter, I will provide more specific details about the relevance and structural importance of this recontextualization for the macrogenre and the academic year.

The excerpt reproduced below is part of a series of examples that Susan has been giving to students in the lesson. The examples are different answers that previous MCAS takers had given to an excerpt from "I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings" by Maya Angelou. The prompt had asked students to respond to the question: "What conditions of the human spirit do the caged bird and the free bird represent."

This particular excerpt shows Susan sharing details of the essay that a rating of 'advanced.'

1. Susan: This one is advanced. You can all do this. This one is four points.
2. This one is Uhmm…(RAISES THE PAPER TO LOOK AT IT CLOSELY)
3. What is this kid's name...(SOME STUDENTS TRY TO LOOK AT THE PAPER)
4. …Joseph Antonetti (STUDENTS LOOK AT A KID WHOSE NAME IS VERY
5. SIMILAR)
6. Do you have a relative? (ASKING THE KID WHOSE NAME IS VERY SIMILAR).
7. Joseph?
8. S1: (TO HERSELF) Joseph Antonetti…
9. Susan: How about like an uncle, because this is 1998, you know.
10. This…this person is a genius because he got a four. I don't even know if I can write
11. like this. To get a four you kind of have to be a gifted writer and you all are//
12. S2: //let me see
13. Susan: so, this is a lot of….//
14. S3: //Let me see Miss
15. S2: //Let me see.
16. Susan: //ready? Listen to this. (READS THE ESSAY
17. LABELED AS ADVANCED

Before engaging with the analysis of the excerpt above, it should be remembered that the general purpose of the MCAS macrogenre was to prepare students for the MCAS standardized testing. The 'official' name of this curricular unit was "The Genre of Testing" (America's Choice). This excerpt shows how Susan shifts the tenor of the interaction by getting the text closer to student's lives. This is done by making up the name of the student who produced the essay and making it strikingly similar to one of the students in class. Susan success in engaging students is confirmed as students are eager to take a look at the essay (S2 and S3 above saying "Let me see miss"), but then engage instead in listening attentively and forget about the made out name.

As already mentioned, this excerpt belongs to the initiation stage of the MCAS macrogenre. Unlike in the initiation stage in the Folktales macrogenre, a recontextualization of the experiential type (one that foregrounded the participants, processes, and circumstances of Half-a-Chick and not those of Ella Enchanted) does not take place in the MCAS macrogenre. This is so because the experiential meaning, that is, 'what is talked about' in this macrogenre engages exclusively with the mandated America's Choice curriculum "The Genre of Testing." Yet, as evidenced by the interpersonal recontextualization just described, strategic alignment is present. That is, strategic alignment in this case is exemplified by the process of transforming the tenor (changing the actors in the text and thus the relationships) of the focal texts in order to make the text more relevant to students' lives.

This kind of interpersonal recontextualization was a recurring pattern in both the Folktales and MCAS macrogenres. To reiterate an important point already made earlier, these and other recontextualizations already discussed serve to enhance the curriculum (even the mandated one). In addition, I like to stress the fact that the specific kind of interpersonal/textual recontextualization exemplified through the present discussion was even more common in the MCAS macrogenre: because of the impossibility of making the unthinkable thinkable by means of an experiential recontextualization similar to the one in the Folktale macrogenre with Half-a-Chick, Susan appealed to recontextualizations that she had more control over.

That is, the MCAS content (experiential meaning) was especially controlled by America's Choice inc who provided detailed content guidelines for the 6 week long unit including the texts to be read, the questions that should be asked to students

from each text, and even a timed routine which should include independent reading, read aloud, and small group instruction (America's Choice Genre of Testing). In this way, content modifications or experiential recontextualizations were made more difficult. In the absence of room for experiential recontextualization, Susan seemed to appeal to an increased number of recontextualizations of the interpersonal and/or textual type in order to engage students with texts in this macrogenre. Once again, her expertise and recontextualized practice served the interest of the mandated curriculum but above all, of students. In the last section of the chapter, I provide more details about Susan's recontextualizations as I seek to demonstrate how they are located within a specific generic structure of a staged pedagogic genre that resembles the generic structure and lexico-grammatical characteristics of the narrative genre.

The interpersonal technique of modifying the tenor of academic discussions around written texts is done recursively in her classes and not only was highly effective but had an overwhelming effect on other students as well. Coming back to the original focus lesson in which Half-a-Chick was introduced, the following excerpt shows how students were engaged with the text in unexpected ways even for Susan. The following excerpt shows exactly this:

1. All Students Reading out loud along with Susan: *You have spread my feathers*
2. *apart and since I only have one leg, you have pushed me against the wall. I*
3. *have gotten a lot of bumps and bruises because of you, mean bad wind." Half-a*
4. *-chick yelled furiously and turned to go on his way. The wind that could not get*
5. *up off the ground screamed,*
6. *"Every chicken gets cooked! You are a fool!"* (EMPHASIZING WITH
7. VOICE)
8. (AT THIS POINT, SUSAN STOPS READING AND BEGINS TO
9. COMMENT ON THE TEXT)
10. Susan: that's two things…the water called him a fool and the wind calls him a
11. fool (SPEECH OVERLAPS)
12. Carina: *//A little*…(CONTINUES ROCKING BODY AS SHE READS)

13. Carina: *//A little while later…*(THIS TIME IN A HIGHER TONE)
14. All: (CATCHING UP WITH CARINA) *while later, Half-a-chick came across*
15. a field on fire. Smoke rose high in the sky and fire was everywhere.

As confirmed by Susan herself, the expected kind of engagement that Susan hoped to get out of students was just to "follow the text, and fill in the blanks with the words I purposefully left out" (Nov. 23 field notes). As already explained, this reading technique was in fact one of the reading techniques proposed and encouraged by the teachers' manual in the READ 180 curriculum. However, all students ended up reading along with her a big chunk of the text. This is another example of how Susan's expertise enhanced not only students' engagement and participation but the proposed curriculum. Even more revealing is the fact that Catalina was not only reading out loud with everybody else but induced others to keep on with the story. She unsuccessfully tried it once when she continued with the story (line 10), but she hotheadedly tried again (line 11) and was successful as all caught up with her (line 13). It is highly significant that an English Language Learner such as Catalina (a pseudonym), with daily visits to the speech therapist and with additional special education services, feels positioned to stimulate all her classmates and her teacher to follow her lead in a read aloud. This kind of initiative resembles the 'read aloud' excerpt analyzed above in which the student continued reading out loud despite the fact that it was evident that he was having a lot of problems decoding the text.

This last episode as well as other 'literacy entry-points" made available during the curricular initiation described here and enhanced in later moments of the academic year demonstrates an enduring purpose in the literacy development of struggling readers in this classroom: building the desire to read; building intrinsic motivation through

sustained engagement in reading. The following episode, belonging to the curriculum negogiation stage of the fairytales Macrogenre further exemplifies the non-traditional ways Susan used to engage non-traditional students.

Curriculum Negotiation: "Uhmm, King Arthur"

The purposeful and goal oriented nature of this classroom is further exemplified with this following section. On December 2 and after a little more than a week of working intensively with the Half-a-Chick folktale, Susan comes to the classroom armed with a box filled with books she had collected. These books shared two characteristics: they were all fairytales or folktales and they were brand new. As she begins to shower the kids with different books along with their descriptions, her voice raises and her description of characters in different books become quite detailed. As the books shuffle from her hands into the students, the process slows down as she provides not only content information but anecdotal accounts of her different encounters with books. In one of her familiar and preferred interpersonal move seeking to create curiosity in students, she pauses and in a calm voice says:

1. Susan: you know my favorite thing with books like this? Don't tell anybody
2. but…when I go to (Name of Bookstore)
3. S1: //I go to (Name of same Bookstore)
4. Susan: you know what I do? (LOOKS AT KIDS FOR A FEW SECONDS)
5. (THEN BRINGS UP THE OPEN BOOK SHE IS HOLDING IN HER HANDS AND
6. COVERS HER FACE WITH ITAS SHE BREATHES IN DEEPLY)
7. Ss: (LAUGHTER)
8. Susan: I smell them
9. S2: //you smell them??
10. Susan: //yeah, I smell them. I don't know why.
11. Ss: (LAUGH AND SAY DIFFERENT THINGS AT ONCE) (SOME STUDENTS
12. NOD IN DISBELIEF).

13. //Do you smell them?
14. S3: No!
15. Susan: all right guys, do you want to smell a new book?
16. S4: //No!
17. Susan: just try it. I'm afraid I'll get you into some addiction but…(SHE CHOOSES
18. DIFFERENT BOOKS TO HAND OUT).
19. Susan: //just try it.
20. (STUDENTS BEGIN TO SMELL BOOKS)
21. S2 to S4: I want this one…
22. S5: uhmmm…King Arthur

Seeing students eagerly smelling books as they did will definitely remain in my mind as truly inspirational moment. Susan was not only able to engage students with print, but she was able to prompt kids to appreciate books in a whole different and enduring way. After this episode, it was not infrequent to spot students inadvertently smelling books they were working with. After students finished smelling the fairy tales Susan had brought for them, she alternated a very slow paced reading out loud of Ella enchanted, a Cinderella-like fairy tale, with discussions and literacy activities that would help students make sense of the target genre and that were not part of America's Choice guidelines although they provided many of the books that Susan used during the "Smell of Literature" episode.

One of these activities was the reading out loud of the story "Dinorella" a 'prehistoric Cinderella story' which was used in this class, in Susan's own words, to convey to students the idea that "there are more than 30 Cinderella stories out there and many authors have used the original story and have adapted it to other stories." Significant schema that was to be built out of the wealth of activities involved during the curriculum initiation and throughout the Ella Enchanted reading seemed to have been picked up by students. Two examples may suffice here. On the one hand, the idea of adapting the storyline of a given narrative seemed to have echoed in students who more

than a week later during a "book pass activity"[36] (involving the same books Susan had brought to class) referenced the book "Loyola and the Honey Bears" because it used the same storyline from "Goldilocks" but changed a few of the characters and their personality. Students were able to notice transformations in a story and still recognize a familiar storyline within it. Just as they were illustrated of this process with the 'cinderella-like story" Dinorella, they recognized the all too familiar Goldilocks even when the characters and their personalities had been changed.

Another example of successful schema build up took place during the other the same book pass activity. When books had been browsed by everybody according to the guidelines of the activity, one of the students expressed that she became interested in the book "Latin American Stories." When she began explaining why she had liked the book, she flipped casually through the pages. A student sitting beside her yelled excitedly: "Oh my God!" as he discovered that the story was the familiar "Half-a-Chick." Students seemed genuinely surprised and very interested in reading the book again. This realization prompted Susan to begin asking students about other stories in the book but none of the students have heard about any of these traditional stories. Susan suggested to students to ask their parents for a specific story that was big in Puerto Rico: "Juan Bobo." The literacy resources of these students has significantly increased and shifted as a result of purposeful and goal oriented teaching.

Once more, I want to highlight that the moments I have concentrated on are all a means to an ends; a bridge to students' literacy development. Susan's purposeful and goal oriented teaching during this macrogenre above all challenged the all too ingrained ideas of poor readership students have carried for years and provided a less negative

perspective as students not only built up on their identity as readers including their motivation to read, but also were exposed to a wealth of scaffolding systems such as the multi-formated exposure to specific linguistic characteristics of folktales that served as specific scaffolds for the Ella Enchanted fairytale. Under tight and controlled pedagogical environments, teacher's strategic decisions such as the ones detailed here may not only be highly constrained but unthinkable. By making the unthinkable thinkable, Susan was true not only to her learned experience and the students' rights, needs and backgrounds, but she enhanced prescriptive mandates and standards.

Detailed attention has been paid to the lessons pertaining to this folktale not only because it was the curricular initiation for the fairytales macrogenre but especially because as it was demonstrated by the additional excerpts from the MCAS macrogenre such curricular initiation set the tone for the rest of the academic year in a similar way that a macrotheme sets the tone for what is to come in a text.

If we could compare the academic year to a book with four chapters, then we could say that the Folktale macrogenre serves the purpose of the introductory chapter. The macrotheme of this academic year (facilitated by the teacher as a rightful director of this classroom, and a pedagogical repertoire that is purposeful, goal oriented, and staged) is one that uses a wealth of pedagogic resources such as the one we have seen to construct encouraging environment for struggling readers. Evidence of this 'macrotheme' reinforcing the idea of purposeful and goal oriented pedagogic practice is the example just discussed from the MCAS macrogenre which shows evidence of strategic alignment as it covered the required content for the MCAS practice but included frequent interpersonal recontextualizations that appealed to students needs, rights and backgrounds

and utilized a pedagogic repertoire that is consistent and attuned to thought collectives of the teaching profession.

The picture of a pedagogic repertoire that is purposeful, goal oriented, and staged will continue to be portrayed as we keep exploring in more detail the MCAS macrogenre. This time however, the discussion on how the lessons were staged will take central stage. Before doing so, and to stress just one of the last points made in this section, it seems that an analysis of the patterns of interaction in the classroom suggests that by transforming the written into a more oral mode of communication, Susan is paying specific attention to her audience. Her pedagogical recontextualization addresses an audience that is no longer generic readers: they are specific *struggling* readers in her classroom. This transformation seems to function specifically as an alteration of the written text in order to promote student engagement. Clearly, the written text was transformed in order to engage the students. Again, these examples are representative of linguistic transformations in the service of interactional patterns that are dynamic, co-constructed, and interactive.

To close up this section, it is not too adventurous to say that Susan's pedagogic repertoire leads to a deep realization: the way different students experience texts is overdetermined by a wealth of literate and non-literate experiences. However, if these different experiences are to be part of the current task at hand, students need to be engaged with the text. With this in mind, she purposefully allows and opens up space for these experiences to serve as integral part of the literacy process and she is resolute to explicitly add up other important literacy tools to the academic repertoire of her students. Some of the examples served as illustrations of a type of engagement that resulted out of allowing and using students' irreducibly different ways of experiencing texts. Some other

set of examples highlighted the importance of explicitly transforming students' relationships with texts so that they can engage more easily and in a more enduring way with them. We keep exploring these issues as we focus on the MCAS Macrogenre.

The MCAS Macrogenre

April is the time in which the Massachusetts Comprehensive Assessment System Exam (MCAS) is administered in Massachusetts school districts. America's Choice had designed a 6 week intensive preparation on 'the Genre of Testing,' the focus of this macrogenre. The MCAS macrogenre consisted in 6 weeks of preparation for the MCAS standardized testing. The readings and content to be covered was specific and very explicit. It included a booklet called "The Genre of Testing" and a separate document containing specific weekly content to be covered. The following diagram provides a quick synopsis of the MCAS macrogenre and the classroom materials used.

As can be seen from the Figure 10, the macro stages of macrogenres (curriculum initiation, curriculum negotiation, and curriculum closure) are used as the macro structure of the MCAS macrogenre. While the presence of the same macrogenre curricular stages in both focal macrogenres may suggest structural similarities, important differences need to be highlighted. One of the differences that is evident is the absence of teacher created

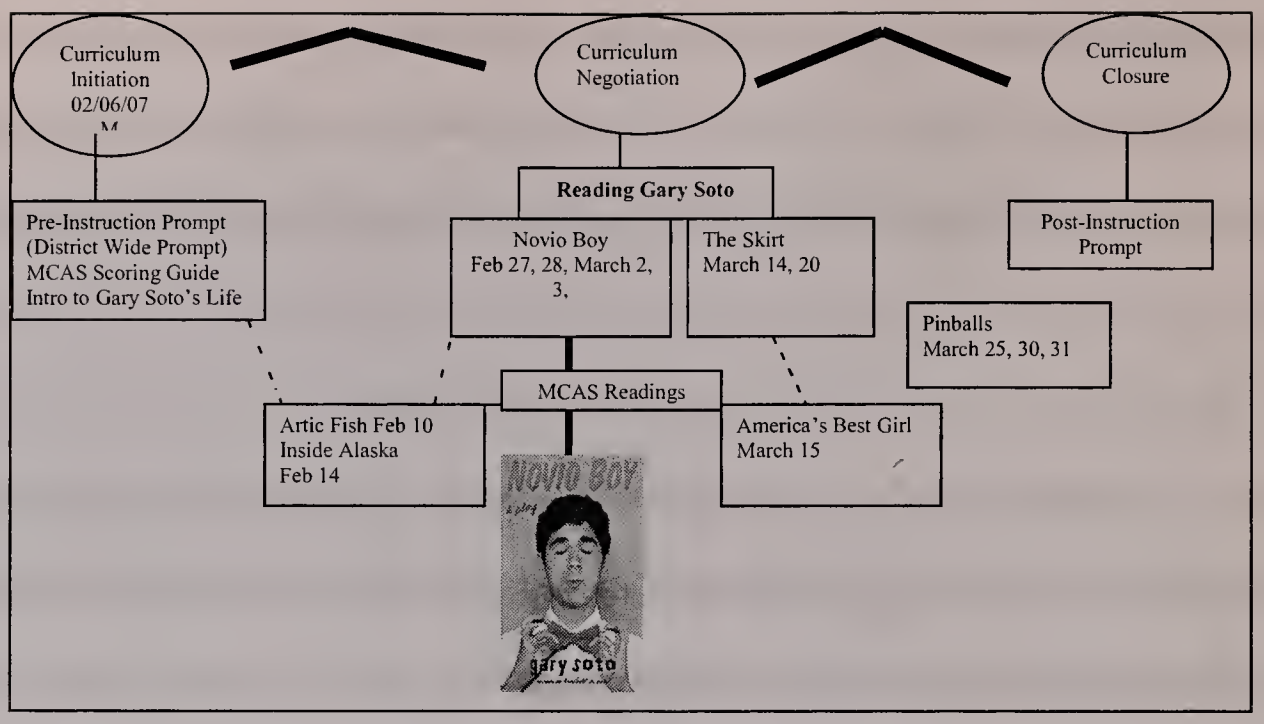


Figure 16. MCAS Macrogenre Constituents and Classroom Materials

or teacher selected curricular materials. This is significant because it meant that the mandated curriculum was intended to heavily control the experiential meaning; that is, the content of the class, what it was possible to talk about -the thinkable. However, the example in the previous section in which Susan appeals to change the name of the MCAS essay to relate it to students and engage them, suggests strategic alignment. To reiterate and already made point, in the absence of the recurring possibility of recontextualizing the experiential meaning, Susan recurred to an increment of interpersonal recontextualizations.

Just as it was the case with the experiential recontextualization in the Folktales macrogenre, interpersonal recontextualizations were not only present but intentional and overt. As we have previously seen with several examples from this classroom, these recontextualizations were usually goal oriented. In other words, they were specifically intended to scaffold in some way the text at hand for students. Other times however, these recontextualizations were purposeful in a more enduring way not necessarily

associated with the task at hand. These recontextualizations subtly put in to question oppressive structures at the institutional or societal level that may have functioned as gatekeepers for these students and that transcended their individual choices. As I describe each of the macro stages of the MCAS macrogenre, I will also reference this type of enduring recontextualizations.

The curriculum initiation stage was intended to provide students with a sense of what good and not so good writing was according to current state standards. With this in mind, all students in the district were asked to write an essay responding to a specific prompt. The DFT or (District Formative Assessments) are intended to provide teachers with real data so that they accommodate instruction to address the gaps and needs of students. Even though the purpose of these tests is formative, the district and the America's Choice guidelines ask teachers to provide NO scaffolding or further instructions to students. The district-wide prompt was the following:

> *Age has a funny way of making changes. It is probably easy for you to look back and see that you and your friends have made major changes since you left elementary grades. Your teachers and your friends may be different; your school may be different; and our interests are probably different. Think back to fourth grade and describe how school has changed for you as a seven grader"*

The excerpt below shows the pedagogical recontextualization that took place prior and during the time when the students were to write the essay. It specifically shows Susan in a role of extended advocate for students. This is so, because instead of providing students with the unmodified prompt provided by the district through America's Choice inc. Susan added a lot of scaffolding that helped students respond to the prompt.1. Susan: Every 6th, 7th, and 8th grader is doing this today. (DISTRIBUTES PAPERS)

2. Who wants to read the prompt? (ASKS ONE STUDENT TO READ).
3. S1: (READS OUT LOUD) "In a five paragraph long essay, please respond to the
4. prompt using your best writing. You should do some sort of web or prewriting before
5. you write.

Already, there is an important difference between the district-wide prompt and the prompt Susan is asking them to write. The modified prompt has two additional parts: it makes explicit the kind of essay they need to write (5 paragraph essay) and it asks them to create a web before writing. In addition, Susan expanded this already modified prompt orally in the following way (Italics represent read text): Susan: So, you want to make sure before you write that you do some kind of webbing. Web it out. If you are going to do five paragraphs… (NAME OF STUDENT) you know that if you are going to do a five paragraph essay then the first paragraph and your last paragraph is your introduction where you state what you are going to talk about and your conclusion and then there are three in between, so you really need to have three different ideas to write about…..

1. your answers are right there in your piece of writing. The answers are right in your
2. prompt. *Age has a funny way of making changes*. Changes is the big word here. *It*
3. *Is probably easy to look back and see that you and your friends have made major*
4. *changes since you left elementary* school, *elementary grades* actually. *Your*
5. *teachers and your friends may be different, your school may be different, and some*
6. *of your interests are probably different.* I don't think that (NAME OF STUDENT)
7. is interested today in what he was interested in second grade are you?
8. Students: (Laughter)
9. Susan: Are you interested in the same things? because I know what (NAME OF
10. ANOTHER STUDENT) thought in second grade that girls were Augh!!!
11. (SOUND TO SHOW DISGUST). Get away from me, they are (xxxxx) and now
12. in eight grade (NAME OF STUDENT) is like…Oh..girls! Let me follow them
13. down the hallway. So. (STUDENTS LAUGH LOUDLY)
14. They want you to *think back to fourth grade and describe how school has*
15. *changed for you*….In the first page they give you changes you can talk about. So,
16. you don't have to re-create the wheel.
17. Does anybody have questions? …
18. Nobody has questions?...
19. S1: I have a question…..Why did the Seahawks loose?

It was highly discouraging for Susan to hear this question asked at this time. At first, she confronted the student directly asking him to explain the relation between what she was saying and a football match. However, she quickly came out of this situation by answering that they were defeated by a better team and simultaneously passing the test sheets. A student asked why it had two pages and she answered that the first page was for the webbing. The format of the test changed dramatically by providing students with such a blank page as it was made obligatory for them to plan their writing before writing their piece. This specific episode serves to highlight the importance of strategic alignment. This time Susan, an experienced teacher in writing, foregrounded her knowledge of teaching writing (thought collectives of the profession) and the rights, and needs of students strategically as she highly recontextualized the way the task at hand was to be achieved. Her knowledge of her students as well as her knowledge of reading and writing and the curriculum she was to teach for the next 6 weeks prompted Susan to recontextualize the task in this way.

She knew that if the unit was going to work, she needed students to be motivated with the writing they had done. She knew that if she faithfully followed America's Choice specific directions "Students should be able to write for a sustained period of time (55 minutes) without teacher support" (America's Choice Genre of Testing Booklet), her students would have likely disengage from writing at all or would have produced essays that would be not ratable according to the rubric she was supposed to follow. This is why she chose to highly recontextualize this part of the macrogenre even though she could get into trouble. At a point where Susan was giving them directions into how to design a web, she told students that she could get fired for what she was doing.

The totally irrelevant question asked by student 1 could have very well disrupted the whole task. In fact, students used this side topic to overtly resist to the task.

1. S2: I can't write 5 paragraphs.
2. Susan: Excuse me?... Yeah, you can do it.
3. S2: I can't
4. Susan: You have to honey.
5. S3: Who told you Mr. Dr. (NAME OF SUPERINTENDENT).
6. Susan: Yeah. Dr. (NAME OF SUPERINTENDENT)
7. S3: Well, guess what. He can write it too.
8. I know it's frustrating but I will help you. I will be here.
9. S4: Five paragraphs?

After a little more than a minute, students keep complaining about doing this task. At that point, students' resistance was so pronounced that Susan called everybody to stop what they were doing and decided to scaffold the task further by walking them through the web they should create as a requisite to write a better organized essay. Susan guided students to get the changes they should talk about right from the prompt and provided a model for them on the board. Clearly, Susan believes that any academic activity (including a test) can be used as an opportunity for learning. Another thing that became clear with this episode and others in which she took risks for students is that an environment in which students take risks may be contingent upon students' perceptions that teachers take risks as well.

Susan's daring teaching accomplished what she had envisioned for the lesson. Students produced essays that fit the criteria as all followed the structural pattern that had been suggested. By the next day, Susan had scored all the essays and the class discussion addressed strengths and weaknesses of the essays but it mostly centered on why an individual student got certain score and how s/he could move up in the scale. The feedback was an opportunity to hear from a rater as the essay was treated as an open

response item rated using a similar process and rubric of that used to score the MCAS open response item. Prior to looking at the students' essays and discussing their rating, Susan followed America's Choice guidelines which directed teachers to discuss with students different responses to the prompt mentioned earlier and that dealt with Maya Angelou's "I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings."

The analysis of the Fairytale macrogenre highlighted the purposeful and goal oriented nature of the focal classroom. While such analysis was carried out following the already mentioned staged constituents of macrogenres (curriculum initiation, curriculum negotiation, and curriculum closure) there is a need to explore more in detail the generic structures of representative lessons within each of these macro staged constituents. In the following section, I will concentrate on the detailed description of focal lessons in terms of the generic structure and register features within the two focal macrogenres.

Part IV: The Pedagogic Genre as Staged Practice

At this point, it is necessary to come back to an idea that has informed much of the analysis carried out up to now: language is structured as it is because of the function it seeks to perform. In my view, language and curriculum should function to promote student learning. If I have been successful in showing how student learning is demonstrated in this classroom, then it is appropriate to state that language in the focal classroom is structured the way it is to serve the educational function of student learning. The purpose of a pedagogic genre is to teach; to induce learning. We saw how the pedagogic repertoire studied here was displayed to promote student engagement and learning. In this way, the macrogenres in general and the lessons that made them up in

specific were purposeful and goal oriented. However, in order to constitute a genre, a pedagogic one, they should also be staged.

We already discussed the staged nature of the macrogenre as we identified the curriculum initiation, negotiation, and closure. However, at this point it is necessary to engage in a more detailed analysis into the staged characteristics of focal lessons. Just as specific generic moves have been identified for literary and non-literary genres **(CITE),** it is also my contention that generic moves and strategic use of language could be identified for pedagogic genres.

If we were to compare the pedagogic genre to another genre, which one would be more similar? Does the pedagogic genre exhibit generic structure similar to other genres? Does it have obligatory generic stages and optional ones? Can it be 'taught' to teachers in a similar way that others genres are taught? Does it constitute a different genre altogether?

As it can be deduced by the title of this section, the last question can be answered affirmatively: the pedagogic genre is a different genre altogether as it refers to the process of pedagogizing knowledge to be delivered in a macrogenre through individual lessons. At this point, I am convinced that all the other questions except the first one can be answered affirmatively as well. The first question will be addressed in detail in the discussion section of this chapter. For now, it is important to clarify that individual lessons refer to what I more specifically call pedagogic genres. The pedagogic genre that is the focus of this study is the literacy pedagogy genre with more specific attention to reading. The following table summarizes the macro structure of the literacy pedagogic genre both at the macrogenre level (unit) and the pedagogic genre level (lesson).

In the following section, and as a way to illustrate with examples the elements introduced in the table above, I will first reference some important differences in the macrorientation of both focal macrogenres. This is important as these differences proved to be crucial in the way the macrogenres were to develop. Because of limitations of space, special attention will be given to lessons within the curricular initiation, and curricular negotiation macro stages. Because the macrorientation functions to inform the topic of the unit and regulates roles and activities within the whole macrogenre (see table), special attention will be given to its description. Once again, important differences between the possibilities and space for experiential recontextualization will be highlighted but this time the discussion will center on how such differences hindered or aided Susan's ability to structure the macrogenres and their lessons and engage students with texts.

After focusing on macrorientations and their importance for structuring macrogenres and lessons, the last part of this chapter will be devoted to detailing the stages and some stage patterns of representative lessons within the two macrogenres. After a brief background seeking to contextualize main ideas within the focal lesson, excerpts will be presented and then analyzed in light of the structural function they seek to perform. The main objective of this section is to demonstrate the staged nature both at the macrogenre and lesson levels of Susan's pedagogic genre practices.

Table 7. Macro Structure of the Literacy Pedagogic Genre: Macrogenre and Pedagogic Genre Level

Macrogenre (Unit)	
Curricular Initiation Individual lessons within this stage would have their own orientation, literacy activities and pedagogic climax.	<u>Macrorientation</u> (informs the topic of the unit and regulates roles and activities in the macrogenre).
Curricular Negotiation	<u>Pedagogical Events</u> -orientation -literacy activities -pedagogical climax
Curriculum Closure	<u>Pedagogical Climax</u> -re(orientation) -literacy activities -pedagogical climax / enduring lessons

Pedagogic Genre (Lesson)	
There is not necessarily a Lesson / day correspondence. The pedagogic genre can correspond to a multi-day lesson.	Orientation (informs the topic of the class and regulates roles and activities in the lesson. Often ties up with the topic, roles, and activities of the unit). Literacy activities Read aloud, Discussion, Questioning, etc. Pedagogical climax - Assessment for Learning

The Importance of Macrorientations for Macrogenre Structure and Lesson Structure

Recall that at the beginning of the findings section (Chapter 5, Part 1) we followed Martin and Rose 2003 who defined theme at the clause and paragraph level as the element that "gives us an orientation to what is to come: our frame of reference as it were" (Martin and Rose p. 181). We then extended this definition to the macro-theme of the A Nation at Risk report to demonstrate how macro-themes for the report, defined as higher level themes predicted hyper-themes and provided a frame of reference not only intratextually for the rest of the report but also intertextually as some of the macro-themes and macro-news that were originally presented in the ANAR report became important structural and constitutive parts of other texts such as the NCLB. Similarly, pedagogic genres, just as any other genre, provide themes that give orientation to what is to come; they provide a prospective frame of reference. That is, just as the macrorientation within the macrogenre, lessons also have an orientation on their own which inform the topic of the lesson and regulate the roles and activities within the lesson.

In other words, the macrorientation is to the macrogenre as the orientation is to the lesson. Another form of representation that should be familiar is the following where (':' means 'is to' and '::' means 'as').

Table 8. Intertextual Relations Across Macrogenres and Lessons

Inter-Theme : Macrogenre : : Macro-Theme : Pedagogic Genre
OR
Macrorientation : Macrogenre : : Orientation : Pedagogic Genre

Thus, and extending once more Martin and Rose's framework, we could state that an extension of lesson structure into macrogenre structures necessarily encompasses intertextual relations as different lessons within the same macrogenre (which constitute different texts) still carry very similar experiential meanings (topics) and concomitant interpersonal (roles), and textual (formats) meanings. That is, different lessons within the same macrogenre are intertexts of each other. Conversely, within a different macrogenre, the experiential meanings (topics) will be significantly different (i.e., fairytales vs. MCAS) whereas the interpersonal and textual meanings will still be very similar to other macrogenres (i.e., roles and expectations of students and teachers tend to be stable). The intertextual link will be harder to demonstrate with only concomitant interpersonal and textual meanings as the experiential or thematic formations will be significantly different.

Coming back to table that summarizes the macro structure of the literacy pedagogic genre and with Martin and Rose's framework in mind, we can say that ideally a macrorientation within a macrogenre serves as its frame of reference as it informs the topic and regulates the roles and activities that are possible within the lessons that constitute the macrogenre. I say ideally because as we will see in a moment, the pedagogic recontextualization that Susan was able to enact within the MCAS macrogenre was effectively constrained by the guidelines and curricular plan designed by America's Choice. This subtle imposition of curricular priorities and frame of reference ended up hindering Susan's ability to provide a comprehensive, enduring, and effective macrorientation to the macrogenre that would meet and try to match students' needs and backgrounds. Instead, and because of the "high stakes" nature of MCAS preparation for

the school in particular, Susan's macrorientation was crafted outside the students cultural and academic background frame and inside the accountability frame of the NCLB.

This kind of macrorientation sharply contrasted to the extensive attention to contextualization that Susan was able to achieve during the Folktales macrogenre. As already explained in detail, Susan's was able to extensively recontextualize the Folktales macrogenre through the comprehensive attention that was given to scaffolding the genre of fairytales through the "Half-a-Chick" lessons. Indeed, in a previous section, I located these lessons within the curricular initiation stage of the macrogenre. This time, and after the background provided in this present section, I am in a position to make a more elaborated argumentation. It is my contention that the "Half-a-Chick" lessons served the function of the macrorientation of the Folktales macrogenre at the experiential, interpersonal, and textual level. Further, I argue that while the experiential meanings (topic) shifted dramatically from folktales and fairytales to MCAS testing, the roles (interpersonal) and formats (textual) available in the classroom were cemented during the "Half-a-Chick" lessons and effectively carried out across macrogenres. That is, even in the absence or little space for experiential recontextualizations (as it was the case in the MCAS macrogenre) concomitant roles and formats particular to this class were present. This is one of the ways in which Susan and her students were able to construct a purposeful, goal oriented, and staged structure for her classes; a 'pedagogic genre' realized through lexico-grammatical choices that assembled a culturally and linguistically nurturing environment for struggling readers.

Macrorientation: MCAS Macrogenre

Unlike the Folktales macrogenre, the MCAS unit lacked a macrorientation. This may be due to the fact that the experiential meanings and the activities and roles the students would be engaged in were controlled by the America's Choice curriculum on the Genre of Testing. Recapitulating once more, the MCAS macrogenre started as suggested by the district and America's Choice: Susan gave students the district-wide prompt on the changes students had had since four grade. The next day, and again following America's Choice guidelines, Susan reviewed different essays students had done and how they got the scores they got. After this, students received their own essays and the discussion centered around the score they got and how they could have scored higher. Unlike the Folktales macrogenre, the MCAS macrogenre seemed to lack an enduring and explicit purpose; a macrotheme that organized all the learning that would take place. Also, unlike the Folktales macrogenre, there was no experiential recontextualization serving as a macrorientation for the whole unit. This will be addressed in detail in the next section.

The title of the unit: "The Genre of Testing" seemed to imply such an enduring purpose. This title explicitly indicates that testing is a genre and thus it could be studied systematically as such. However, much of the learning that was proposed did not engage students with studying the kind of structure tests have, but instead, it focused on the different writing forms that a test could include such as short stories, plays, poems, and others. More specifically, the unit was designed for students to be able to "analyze anchor papers and use them as models", and use "Gary Soto as a writing mentor" (America's Choice Guidelines). The idea was that at the end of the 6 week unit, students would be able to "write for a sustained period of time (50 minutes) without teacher support" and

write to a prompt by providing a description of a person, place, event, or thing, its significance and what they have learned as the result of interacting with the person, being in the place, event or thing" (America's Choice Guidelines).

Without much analysis, it is easy to see that even when students engage in reading texts that are close to the heritage and interests (as Gary Soto's books proved to be in this classroom), this may not automatically guarantee that they would be able to write for a sustained period of time without teacher support about a person, place, event, or thing, its significance and what they learned as a result of experiencing these. Certainly, such engagement is no guarantee that they would score well in the MCAS.

The intention here is not to examine if in the end students were able to do all this, the point is to show that in no moment were these objectives made explicit for students as they were in the Folktales macrogenre and that in the end, this "subtle bigotry of soft mandates" ended up preventing a highly experienced and successful teacher such as Susan from spending as much time as necessary on an appropriate macrorientation for the "Genre of Testing".

Unlike with the Folktales macrogenre, Susan was unable this time to engage students in coming up with enduring questions for the unit. The experiential constraints; that is, constraints over what was thinkable within this macrogenre effectively hindered Susan's ability to successfully explain to students why it was important for them to engage with high stakes texts such as standardized tests. She would often recur to institutional or state standards to justify the teaching of this unit: "You just have to do this"; "Everybody in the city of (NAME OF CITY) is doing this today".

But Susan's expertise and ability did not disappeared completely at the time when a macrorientation should be in place. In fact, the less she used these kinds of external justifications inside the accountability frame and instead spoke from her own opinions, experiences and expertise, the more engaged students were. An example of this came after a series of explicit resistant comments by the students regarding the essay they were to write. Susan specifically told students that she was not going to pretend that the two months on MCAS preparation were very exciting, but that if they were to be successful in school they needed to learn to also do such tasks. She then suggested a path to accomplish this: "if we read enough fours, we would be able to write fours. It's a game, just a game!" These "fours" refer to essays rated by official raters with four points that they began to study in the class. Susan's reference to MCAS tests as "games" is not only tied with language arts MCAS tests and in the middle school context. In fact, when she was a math teacher for third graders, she had to conduct a case study as an academic exercise in one of the ACCELA's masters' class in which I was a teacher assistant. She explains her thinking about tests as games more clearly in a journal entry she submitted as part of her case study.

> In order to teach these features (referring MCAS tests) in a permeable way, I have begun taking advantage of the children's normal curiosity about MCAS tests…We have begun calling it a game. Third graders love games. All of the strategies we teach, we relate to as "learning the rules to play this game." If you learn the rules, you win the game…At this point the students' success in being able to produce a feature, or identify a feature, has contributed to the permeability of our endeavor. They want to pass this test. They need to pass this test. They have become excited about it because they are getting successful at playing the game. (Paper presented at AAAL 2007).

One of the ideas that have been recurrent in our analysis of Susan's pedagogic repertoire is the idea of permeability which in this study is further described as Strategic

alignment. Within this framework, we have seen how one of the patterns that contribute most to the co-construction of Susan's pedagogic genre is the inclusion of students needs, lives and backgrounds into the lessons. This is exactly what Susan means with "students' success in being able to produce a feature, or identify a feature, has contributed to the permeability of our endeavor." In addition to the sustained commitment to include students needs, lives, and backgrounds into lessons, the recurring and strikingly similar ideas about MCAS tests across content areas and students' populations sends a strong message about the relative stability of teacher's values, what I call thought collectives of the profession. Susan's ideas about MCAS as a game remain untouched despite their strikingly different intertextual and interdiscursive nature.

In any case, the most striking difference between the Folktales macrogenre and the MCAS macrogenre was the absence of a sustained and comprehensible macrorietation in the latter. The consequences of such difference proved to be far reaching as the moments students were engaged with texts within the MCAS macrogenre seemed to be superfluous and circumstantial rather than enduring and robust. That is, when students were engaged or interested, such attitudes seemed to respond to the specific generic cohesiveness of the lesson or the specific way in which a focal text was constructed. Two recurrent strategies that were used to engage students were foregrounding and mystery building. However, for the most part, this engagement did not respond to an increasing building up of interest as the macrogenre or the macrogenre stage was progressing. Again, the interest on texts was instead either lesson specific or text specific, but not macrogenre specific. This stands in sharp contrast with the Folktales macrogenre in which this lesson or text coherence was also present but it was specifically

tied to the same enduring purpose: to enhance control over ideational, interpersonal, and textual meanings in a specific genre.

The following section will be devoted to detailing the stages and some stage patterns of representative lessons within the two focal macrogenres.

Susan's Preferred Pedagogic Genre: The "Pedagogic Storying Cycle"

If we were to compare the pedagogic genre in this classroom to another genre, the narrative genre would be the one that resembles the pedagogic genre the most. This realization was arrived at after analyzing in detail representative lessons from the macrostages of the two focal macrogenres. These analysis revealed a pattern which I labeled as "Pedagogic Storying" to resemble the generic stages of a narrative but with obvious pedagogic purposes.

Because of the bottom up approach taken in this study, this "Pedagogic Storying" should not be read as an imposition on what a literacy lesson should look like. Rather, the pattern is not a model that is imposed on the data, but a pattern that emerged out of it. Although the finding suggesting a correlation between the generic structure of narratives and that of the pedagogic genre in this classroom is highly significant for the study, it does not take too much to find completely reasonable that an experienced teacher creates a "storyline" for her lessons in order to engage struggling readers with texts. What I have tried to show here is how such storyline is structured and realized. Just as with what functional linguists call 'elementary genres' (Christie, 2002; J. R. Martin & Rose, 2003), this "Pedagogic Storying Cycle" (cycle because it repeats in a patterned way) has certain generic moves that are expected and others that may or may not be present at a given

time. Again, and just as with elementary genres in which certain lexico-grammatical elements (especially processes) are strong indications of a specific stage in the genre (Eggins, 1994), decisions on labeling the different generic moves within the pedagogic genre in the focal classroom were identified following specific SFL tools including but not limited to transitivity analysis.

This analysis was highly informed by what we know about the extensive work that has been done by SFL linguists with narratives. For example, within its Orientation Stage narratives tend to introduce the setting by introducing main characters and informing readers about circumstances such as time and place. In addition, narratives were also found to have a much higher frequency of relational processes within its Orientation Stage. The following is a very short excerpt from one of the hundreds of versions of Romeo and Juliet that exemplifies these issues.

> Long ago, in Verona, there lived two families, the Montagues and the Capulets, who hated each other worse than death…

We can see how this short sentence found at the very beginning of the text, seeks to orient the readers by introducing and naming two families and their dispute and by telling us where and when the events are to happen.

As it happens in most narratives, main characters begin to engage in a series of events that eventually lead to a complication. At this point, the narrative acquires a different rhythm as dialogue begins to be used as a tool to move the actions forward and to let us enter into the thoughts of main characters. This transition is also signaled at the experiential level as the number of relational processes decreases at the same time that the amount of material processes (or action processes) increases. After the actions are complicated by a problem, the story gets to a resolution (if we can call

death of two lovers a resolution!) from which the reader is either given an explicit message or s/he is called to make it up on her/his own. Romeo and Juliet is a good example of a narrative that follows this pattern as a series of events get complicated by Romeo not knowing the transitory state of his lover's 'death' and decides to kill himself. The reader is then given an explicit moral, coda, or message dealing with the prevalence of love over hate as evidenced by the two families ending the feud they had had in memory of the death and love of their loved ones.

The following diagram can be used as a heuristic to help advance this argument. Again, the diagram reveals the observed pattern and was labeled the "Pedagogic Storying Cycle". Pedagogic Storying in order to resemble the generic stages of a narrative but with obvious pedagogic purposes. Cycle because the pattern seems to recur and repeat within different lessons regardless of its curricular macrogenre stage.

The obligatory stages are the Orientation or (re)Orientation (what we will be doing, the point of all this); Literacy Activities (how we will do it); and the Pedagogical Climax (what we learned). Reorientation or reorientations were usually common and they took place on an as needed basis in between the literacy activities and the Pedagogical Climax. In many occasions when a student or students had demonstrated what they learned, Susan would usually engage in what I have called a "Pedagogic Moral" in which

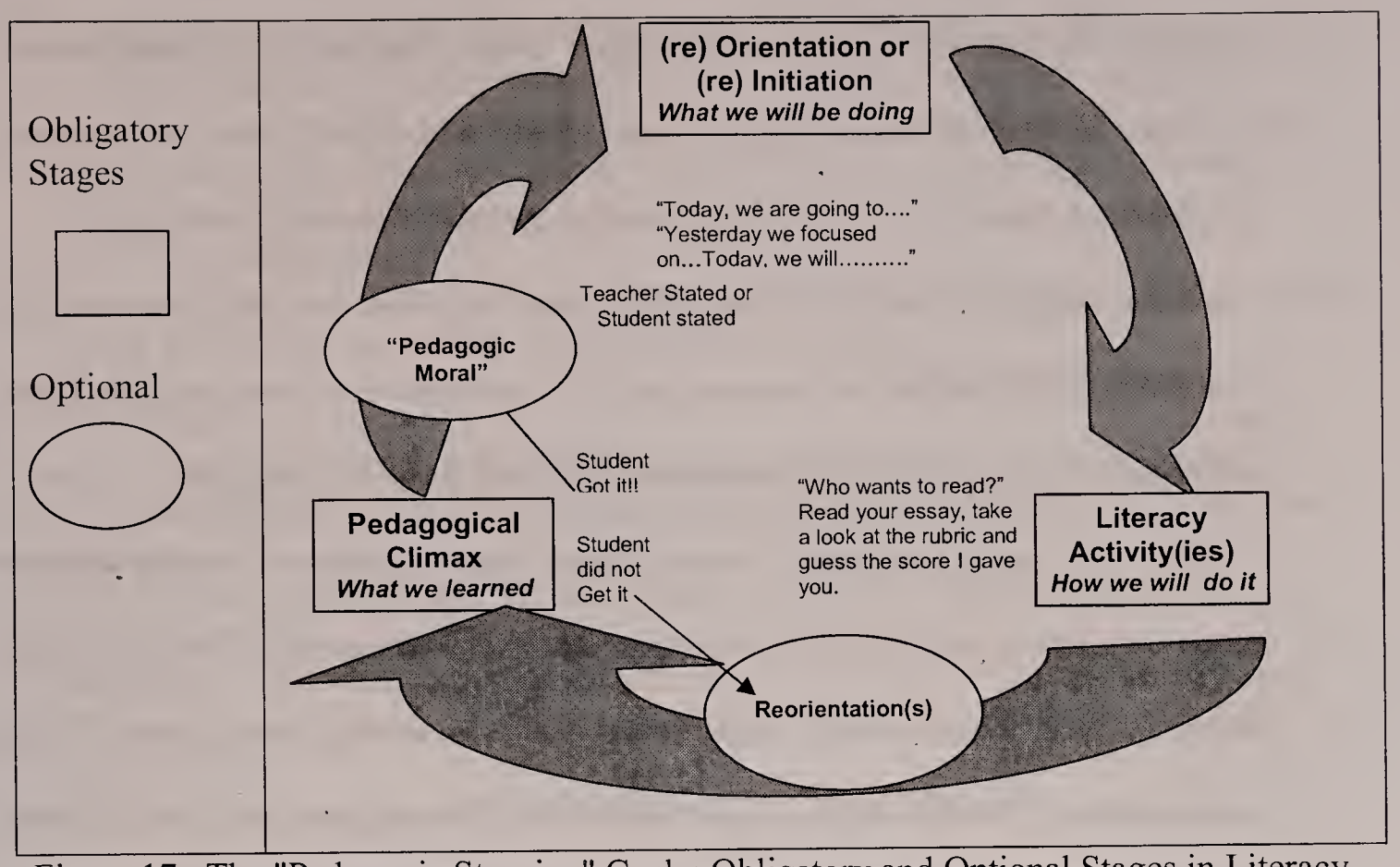


Figure 17. The "Pedagogic Storying" Cycle: Obligatory and Optional Stages in Literacy Lessons in Focal Macrogenres

main learning points are stressed and extended usually using elements that the students themselves had come up with. The lesson may finish at that point or may proceed to a re-orientation that introduces other type of academic tasks. Before engaging fully into illustrating the stages with representative examples from the classroom, there is need to give special attention to a strategy that was consistently used by Susan to foreground the instructional register in class: the use of humor.

Humor as Interpersonal Metaphor to Foreground Academics

We have already discussed some silly and humorous episodes that resulted from Susan's non-conventional ways of engaging students with texts (ie., shifting participants in a text to bring students closer to it; smelling books). This time, I want to illustrate how humor was consistently, strategically and successfully used by Susan not only to engage

students but to shift around and soften students' frequent resistance to academic tasks. This discussion is relevant at this point because such strategy took place more often at the time in which Susan would attempt to introduce the task of the day (during the orientation stage), or in a time when a shift or transition from one stage to another was attempted. The successful and recurrent use of humor instead of more congruent and traditional responses (i.e., an explicit reprimand) once more demonstrates the non-traditional pedagogic practices for non-traditional students that made up this classroom. In this way, humor is metaphorical language; interpersonal metaphor. That is, it is an indirect way that simultaneously regulate and relate to non-traditional students in a non-traditional way. In other words, humor functioned as metaphorical enactment of what Bernstein calls the regulative register that simultaneously and strategically refocuses and positions the classroom as a learning ground. Humor avoids confrontation and effectively foregrounds the importance and prevalence of the academic task as evidenced in students almost invariably getting involved with the task at hand. Brief excerpts that illustrate the use of humor as a strategy to defer confrontation to students and get to academic tasks follow. As all excerpts are self explanatory, I will only mention the stage in which they took place and what they allowed Susan to do.

This excerpt took place within the orientation stage of the first Half-a-Chick lesson. S1 is resistant to come to the small group in which Susan is reading a summary about the folktale. S1 is sitting at the computer hoping to begin his work in Read 180 or perhaps (as it usually happened) to go to the internet and listen to his favorite music. Since, S1 was the only one who was not engaged with the text, Susan stopped her introduction of the Half-a-Chick summary and addressed S1 specifically.

1. Susan: (CALLS NAME OF STUDENT TWO TIMES WHILE STUDENT FACES
2. THE COMPUTER BUT NO SUSAN) you are going to come into small groups and
3. we are going to read about half chick and what happens to it in small groups here.
4. So, we are still going to do regular Read 180 where you're going to get your point
5. minutes on the computer
6. S1: (unintelligible)
7. Susan: Well….we might go a little longer, we'll see how, how well we do. Then, we
8. are going to do our reading silently, reading our books…//
9. S1: //Oh…I hate reading!!
10. Susan: //oh…
11. (PAUSING FOR A MOMENT). You cannot hate reading and be in Read 180.
12. Smile! When I say the word reading you're supposed to light up like a Christmas
13. tree.
14. S1: Yeah, right! (ANOTHER STUDENT PATS HIM THREE TIMES ON HIS
15. BACK)
16. Susan: If you want to bring this with you (REFERRING TO THE TEXT) when
17. you go to your group (STUDENT TAKES THE TEXT AND GOES TO HIS
18. GROUP).
19. S1: We are going to read this? (SHOWS TEXT TO GROUP).

The following excerpt took place during the negotiation stage of the MCAS macrogenre. Unlike the previous excerpt, this episode does not take place during the orientation. It shows how Susan skillfully defers students' resistance to engage in writing in their notebooks and specifically addresses one student who had moaned loudly. Susan's recontextualization of students' resistance allows her to make the transition between a literacy activity stage to a Pedagogical Climax stage as students were supposed to write in their notebooks on what they found most interesting about Gary Soto's writing.

1. Susan: Ok. Everybody stop reading for a minute. I'm going to give you your notebooks.
2. Students: Ohhhhhhhhhhh…..(COMPLAIN LOUDLY).
3. Susan: and you are just going to respond… (SAYS NAME OF
4. STUDENT WHO COMPLAINED MOST LOUDLY) your moaning is not helping me.
5. We want to have positive energy (SAYS SHORTENED NAME OF STUDENT).
6. (MIMICS STUDENTS VOICE) Oh. Yes, Mrs. (SUSAN'S LAST NAME) I'm so
happy. 7. I've been waiting for a week//
8. Student: //(LAUGHS PLAYFULLY).
9. Susan: // to write in my notebook. Thank you Mrs.
10. (SUSAN'S LAST NAME) Oh, please hand it over quickly and let me run and
11. sharpen my pencil (STUDENT KEEPS LAUGHING PLAYFULLY)….
12. (BACK WITH NORMAL VOICE)

13. Here is my question that you are going to answer in your book

The last excerpt of this section highlights how Susan consistently used humor across lessons to attenuate resistance and avoid confrontation. This excerpt is somewhat related to the previous as Susan uses the same strategy to deal with another student's reluctant behavior to engage in writing in his notebook in another lesson. Student 1 is looking through the pages of a text. He picks up his notebook and opens it as wanting to read the task and engage in it, but soon throws the notebook back at the table, and sighs in frustration.

1. Susan: what do you need (NAME OF STUDENT 1)?
2. (S1 DOES NOT RESPOND).
3. Susan: What do you need honey Paraprofessional: Keep Going! I'll help you.
4. (LEANS TOWARD HIM)
5. S1: I don't want to do this. I don't want to do nothing (SITS ON A CHAIR).
6. S2: (REPEATS NAME OF STUDENT AS IN ASKING HIM TO CALM DOWN)
7. S1: (RESPONDS WITH A CURSE EXPRESSION IN SPANISH)
8. S2: Callate [Shut up] (REPEATS THIS EXPRESSION UNTIL S1 LAUGHS).
9. Susan: Hey, Hey, Hey…watch it. Do you have something to write with?
10. S2: Miss, I need a pencil.
11. After a couple of remarks on how Susan is a pencil factory as students take her
12. pencils all the time, she begins helping other students with the question they need to
13. write.
14. Student 1 interrupts as he calls out:
15. S1: Teacher, I don't know how to write in English. I don't know anything about
16. English, I hate (unintelligible).
17. Paraprofessional: I'll help you.
18. Susan: Well…. (TAKES A DEEP BREATH, LOOKS AT STUDENT 1 AND
18. SAYS) Can we bottle that happiness and sell it in the KeyMart? (LAUGHTER).
19. Susan: (LOOKING BACK TO STUDENTS SHE WAS HELPING BEFORE).
20. Think about the question about……

Notice how skillfully Susan comes up with a way to transform the student's explicit resistance and frustration into a funny moment that eases up the atmosphere and allows her to continue paying attention to the students she was helping. Part of this skill, as also evidenced in the last excerpt, is to keep the comment surprisingly brief and

immediately come back to the heart of the matter. As also confirmed by Lemke 1990 in his study of language, learning, and values in science classrooms, the importance of using humor to soften serious admonitions in order to reduce the risk of a confrontation is a hard skill to perfect and it is certainly a mark of good teachers.

The following section seeks to illustrate the pedagogic stages already suggested within the Pedagogic Storying Cycle. The two excerpts below begin to illustrate key claims within the orientation stage of this cycle. They show different lessons and highlight how they begin with an orientation that frames the rest of the lesson experientially (topic), interpersonally (roles), and textually (formats). These representative excerpts of lessons took place within the curricular initiation of the Folktale and MCAS macrogenres.

Stage 1: Introduction, Explanation, Orientation or (re) Orientation

The first stage seen in the diagram in the literacy lessons in the focal classroom was usually made up of a recurrent exposition of what the purpose of the class would be. This included some kind of foreshadowing of ideas that would be important later on in the lesson and/or macrogenre (talking about macrogenre, this was the case in the Folktale but not in the MCAS macrogenre). This first stage is similar to a narrative, in which the orientation introduces characters, provides a feel, a tone; a context for the narrative, and introduces certain details that would be important or even decisive later in the story. This first stage of the pedagogic genre, introduces the topic of the class, and the tasks that class participants will be carrying out. However, and unlike the almost exclusive information giving purpose of this stage in a narrative, this stage in the pedagogic genre

holds the dual purpose of informing and regulating roles and activities that are appropriate and expected.

When expected roles and activities are modified as the result of classroom interaction (in Susan's own words "*the permeability of our endeavor*"), a (re)orientation would be necessary as a way to explicitly assign new roles and/or activities. However, unlike the orientation which introduces new topics and roles and activities for participants, the reorientation does not introduce new topics but new roles and/or activities. In this sense, while the orientation always introduces experiential (topic), interpersonal (roles), and textual (format) meanings, the (re)orientation may only modify interpersonal and textual ones. In general, the orientation stage within the curricular initiation stage in a macrogenre would be much more detailed and long than that in another macrogenre stage (negotiation or closure). This should not be surprising as the topic of the class and the expected roles and activities for participants would be new to them.

As already mentioned, one of the most common strategies used in the orientation is foreshadowing. The main function of foreshadowing in the literacy pedagogic genre is to provide students with as many reasons to read and be engaged as possible. Unlike narratives in which foreshadowing is used as a way to implicitly introduce elements that later on will be important if not essential to understand the message or any part of the story, foreshadowing in this classroom could be equated to explicit teaching. This explicit teaching mainly functions to:

- introduce ideas/language that would be essential if students are to understand messages in the focal text or important details about its purpose and/or structure.
- build content and/or linguistic schemata

For example, Susan uses foreshadowing consistently during the initial "Half-a-Chick" lesson. The following excerpt shows how she scaffolded the word "weathervanes:"

1. I found out that this Half-a-Chick story is the story of how weathervanes
2. came to be. Does anybody know what a weathervane is? Did you ever hear
3. about a weathervane?
4. Students remain silent:
5. Here are my weathervanes (BEGINS TO SHOW DIFFERENT KINDS OF
6. WEATHERVANES SHE HAD PRINTED FROM THE COMPUTER.
7. SOME DEPICT NON-CONVENTIONAL ANIMALS FOR WEATHERVANES
8. SUCH AS PIGS, HORSES ETC.).
9. …I found this one (SHOWS A PRINTED WEATHERVANE STAND)
10. This is a stand…and you get to actually design your own at the end when we are
11. all done.

Different interesting points could be made about this last excerpt. First and foremost, Susan is scaffolding the word weathervanes because its meaning is intrinsically related to what folktales are supposed to do; its purpose as a genre: to explain how certain things came to be. Thus, at the same time that Susan builds content and linguistic schemata through focusing on this lexical item, she touches on an enduring and essential purpose for any person who is to read this specific folktale: "this Half-a-Chick story is the story of how weathervanes came to be" (line 1).

Two other brief but interesting points can be made as well. First, Susan chooses to introduce this unknown word through pictures and thus avoids any confusion about what it is, but she simultaneously extends its conventional meaning by printing non-conventional weathervanes that depict animals other than the traditional rooster. Second, she regulates roles and formats (see lines 9 and 10) as she positions them as designers of a weathervane in a pre-formated printed page she designed for them.

Another example of foreshadowing dealt specifically with building students' awareness of the generic structure of folktales in specific and narratives in general. The

following excerpt also belongs to the orientation stage in the Half-a-Chick lessons. Susan is walking students through the narrative by pointing specifically to its generic structure.

(POINTING TO A POSTER ON THE BOARD)
1. Susan: Then, you have the….you know what word is this (NAME OF STUDENT)?
2. (STUDENT LOOKS)
3. Susan: The climax. It's like the (CLAP) big thing that happens when you're
4. watching a movie. Like the biggest part when you can't take your eyes off the
5. screen and you're like this (LEANS OVER AS TO WATCHING A MOVIE WITH
6. ATTENTION)
7. Susan: …complication he put that in. These are more events leading to the
8. complication, these are more events leading to the complication. I love that about this
9. piece, this is a great (unintelligible)//
10. S1: //Climax, Climax (POINTING TO TWO SECTIONS IN THE TEXT WHERE
11. CLIMAX IS WRITTEN)
12. //M: of this piece
13. Susan: it tells you when you are going to hit the tension and the climax, I mean the
14. complication when it starts to get really… really hairy.
15. It tells you when the climax is//
16. //C: yeah..(MOVES HEAD)
17. Susan: //in the story
18. Susan: and it also tells you, where the resolution is and what the moral is. It shows
19. you the parts of the story so when you are reading you can highlight it
20. Ok, I'm reading an event. Ok. Here's the tension. Oh..here's the climax.

The kind of foregrounding that is attempted here seeks to simultaneously introduce ideas and language to build up linguistic schemata about the text's generic structure. Lines 18 and 19 signal the importance of paying attention to these features (thus the foreshadowing) so that students can be successful in reading the text. They would be successful as they make connections between print and the function that certain language performs at a certain generic stage. The text is read in a different and strategic way and S1 seems to get the message behind it as lines 9, and 15 seem to suggest. In fact, S1 got so engaged with this text that she was the same one that prompted everyone in the class, including Susan, to keep reading aloud the Half-a-Chick text (see exerpt ??, line). It should be noted that this kind of eagerness to keep reading texts and explicitly call

everyone else to get back on task was also observed all through the MCAS macrogenre (see example "miss, we are trying to read miss" that comes later in this chapter).

Within the same Folktales macrogenre but this time in the curriculum negotiation stage in which the focal class was engaged in reading Ella Enchanted, Susan used foreshadowing not so much to build content or linguistic schemata but to provide students with a strong reason to follow and be engaged in the read aloud of chapter 6.

1. Susan: Chapter 6, I'm going to read to you right now. When I get to the end of
2. chapter 6, you are going to be able to tell me how is it that this chapter finishes in a
3. cliffhanger. Chapter six ends in a cliffhanger. What does that mean..that it ends in a
4. cliffhanger. (STUDENTS SEEM UNINTERESTED AND NOT PAYING MUCH
5. ATTENTION)
6. Anybody has watched the roadrunner?
7. S1: Oh!! (LOOKING AT SUSAN)
8. S2: Yeah yeah.
9. Susan: //When he is about to go off a cliff and then (MAKES BREAKS
10. SOUND) puts on his breaks and….what happens 'till he gets to the end.
11. S2: He is looking down
12. Susan: He is looking down (LOOKS DOWN) and you don't know if he's going to
13. fall or not.
14. Students: (unintelligible)
15. Susan: A cliffhanger is that. It just leaves you hanging it's like a page turner.
16. You can't wait. You have to keep reading. You cannot stop at chapter 6 today//
17. S1: //I can
18. Susan: /and put the book down. You won't be able to. You would go crazy//
19. S2: // I won't
20. Susan: /It's a cliffhanger. You have to know what happens next. This is a
21. cliffhanger. It keeps you going so you're gonna have to tell me how. How does this
22. chapter leave you hanging. How there is a cliffhanger here.

Although students seem to be resistant at the very beginning (lines 18 and 20), they not only followed the reading aloud, participated actively by asking questions and answering Susan's questions, but were able to explain why there was a cliffhanger in this chapter. Susan referenced the students' role of looking for the elements that made up the chapter's cliffhanger often and by the end of the class some students were effectively so engaged with the text that they used the remainder 'free time' in this class to read on. One

of the students were more interested in keeping reading asked her assigned paraprofessional if she could stay longer with her so that she could help her read the text.

Introducing fairytales through Half-a-Chick not only scaffolded generic structures and literary tools for fairytales but it framed roles and formats for the entire macrogenre. Thus, the foreshadowing that took place early on in the macrorientation of the Folktales macrogenre was a macrogenre endeavor as it reinforced important concepts and routines that proved to be important in carrying out the curricular negotiation (reading Ella Enchanted) successfully. This success was evidenced in students' sustained engagement with reading and desire to read as non-traditional roles for struggling readers were readily available in this classroom. As already detailed in excerpt ?? in which Student 2 clearly took up roles that are traditionally assigned to the teacher (*Go on!; he is not finished yet*) some of these roles introduced in the macrorientation of the Folktales macrogenre event carried out across macrogenres.

If we fast forward to the initiation stage of the MCAS macrogenre, we can keep illustrating how Susan recurs to using foreshadowing in her lessons. Before doing so however, I would like to highlight once more and in different way the significance of having a macrorientation as the intitiation of a macrogenre as opposed to having none. My contention is that in the absence of a macrorientation for the MCAS macrogenre (already discussed) the intertextual links within this macrogenre were very weak and at times non existent. The perceived student engagement with texts, and the perceived coherent nature of lessons within the MCAS macrogenre can be attributed to coherence in lessons rather than cohesion within the macrogenre. As we saw before, the macrogenre and its organization was heavily associated with America's Choice and the proposed

curricular unit "The Genre of Tests." Conversely, the way lessons were structured corresponds to Susan's pedagogic repertoire and all the strategies she uses to engage students with texts and build an academically and nurturing environment for her students (i.e., foreshadowing, changing or making up participants of texts). This is significant because the purposeful, goal-oriented, and staged nature of lessons responded to intratextual lesson coherence Susan had built with students rather than to sustained intertextual macrogenre cohesion. It is important to clarify that coherence refers to the establishment of logical relationship *within texts* whereas cohesion refers to the same establishment *across texts*. The *text* that is referred to here is the lesson.

An example that illustrates the use of foregrounding to promote sustained engagement with oral and written texts in the MCAS macrogenre follows. The excerpt was part of the already discussed class in which students were about to receive the essays on the changes since fourth grade they had written the day before. The first part of the class was devoted to read and analyze essays that other students had written in 2001 responding to an MCAS prompt on the poem "I know why the Caged Bird Sings" already referenced before. The excerpt that is the focus on analysis now corresponds to a (re)orientation of the same lesson. The experiential meaning remains the same as the idea is to keep using the scoring rubric and the writing components it details (paper organization, level of detail etc). However, the interpersonal and textual meanings are shifted. Interpersonally, this is so because students are the ones who will be rating their own essays and therefore their affective involvement with text will be significantly different than with the essays written by other students. Textually, the role of language

changes as the format shifts from a text to be read orally by a teacher to all students, to an essay to be read in silence by students.

The excerpt highlights the foreshadowing strategy used by Susan to engage students in reading their own essays with care and then extend their reading as they attempted to 'guess' the score they got for their work.

1. Susan: and a three means that you only had a few mistakes and it doesn't really
2. interfere with what you were trying to say. And a four means, Wow. You just didn't
3. write a sentence like: the dog fell off the boat. You know, you wrote, uhmm…*the*
4. *beautiful brown and white fluffy pet catapulted over the edge of the (xxxxxx) sailed*
5. *yacht.*
6. Students: WOOOOOOOOHHH! (MAKING SOUNDS OF EXCITEMENT).
7. Susan: So, you didn't just write simple sentences….
8. I'm not going to tell you what I gave you until you grade yourselves.
9. S1: No miss. I'm not….//
10. Susan: //I'm not mommy. You cannot say no…
11. You're going to read it over to yourself. And then I'm going to tell you what I gave
12. you after you tell me your grade (PASSES ESSAYS TO STUDENTS).

In addition to Susan's foreshadowing (line 8 and lines 11-12), Susan's teaching includes a rather effective and skilled illustration of "Show don't tell" in which she demonstrates one of the ways in which students could improve their writing. Although it had not been referenced before, this "Show don't Tell" strategy had in fact crossed intertextually from different lessons within different macrogenres and will be referenced again later. Finally, as we have seen up to now, Susan's style is relaxed and permeable but as evidenced in line 10 ("*I'm not mommy. You cannot say no),* she is resolute and strong in assigning roles to students. She knows that the success or failure of this current lesson depends on students conscientiously analyzing their own essays so that they can begin to see how they could improve their writing. Although flexible and caring, Susan is not willing to relinquish her authority if doing so compromises student learning.

Stage 2: Literacy Activities

This following stage of the literacy pedagogic genre observed in the focal classroom constitutes the bulk of the literacy pedagogic genre; the "how we are going to get to where we want to go." The variety of literacy activities is vast, but the first thing that would jump out to a common observer is how the classroom roles and activities change. Students are now less in a relational stage with the teachers (listeners) and they are called to 'do' things (read, write, jot down, ask, respond). The teacher's language usually shifts from a near future (usually involving going to) to simple present, but this aspect of language is directly tied to the text or texts that students need to work on. Descriptions and taxonomies of classroom activities and their descriptions abound in the literature (see for example Fitzgerald & Graves, 2003 and ; Gibbons, 2002 for activities involving English Language Learners; Lemke, 1990 for complete illustrations of activity types in the science classroom), but the intention here is to locate these activities within a generic structure context.

An example that illustrates this second stage within the literacy pedagogic genre observed in this classroom follows. The excerpt is located within the curricular negotiation of the MCAS macrogenre and involves students reading aloud the play "Novio Boy" by Gary Soto that had been referenced before to illustrate the continuity of certain interpersonal patterns that could be traced back to the Folktales macrogenre and how the actions of the focal student in such excerpt exhibits a solidification of the non-traditional roles that were made possible for students in this classroom in the Folktales macrogenre. As it was the case with the aforementioned excerpt, the italics correspond to the actual words from the play.

1. S1: If you go on this date, I want you to be nice
2. S2: (WHISPERING TO S3) entiende?
3. S3: entiende?
4. S4: entendiste?
5. S1: If you go out, try to act like a gentleman (unintelligible) don't be a
6. (STRUGGLES WITH THE WORD)
7. S3: Mocoso!
8. Susan: What's a mocoso?
9. S1: Booger boy! (OTHER STUDENTS TRY TO ANSWER AT THE TIME)
10. Susan: wait a minute, I'm looking at the back (LOOKS FOR GLOSSARY AT
11. THE END OF BOOK).
12. Susan: Oh! You're right. It's a snobby kid. Like a snobby kid.
13. S4: that's nasty!
14. S3: but the..the.. they call him not…in Spanish they…if they call you mocoso it's
15. like because you're like, you know…you are little and //
16. Susan: //you think you are better than
17. everybody else?
18. S3: //you're little and you think you are big. You know…that.
19. Susan: Yes!
20. S3: you are a mocoso.
21. Susan: you've got an attitude.
22. S3: yeah.
23. Susan: you think you are all that?
24. S4: no, but…
25. Susan: mocoso (PRACTICING THE WORD)
26. S3: My mom calls me that like two times.
27. Susan: are you a mocoso?
28. S3: mocoso. Que pasa mocoso! (what's up mocoso).
29. Susan: She does?
30. S4: nobody calls me mocoso!
31. Susan: what do you say? (LOOKING AT S3)
32. S3: I start laughing!. (SUSAN AND S3 LAUGH)
33. Susan: oh. you are too much (NAME OF STUDENT).
34. I don't think you are a mocoso.
35. S3: Ah. But that is a //
36. S1: //Miss we are trying to read miss!! (SMILES AS SHE
37. LOOKS AT SUSAN)
38. Susan: oh..ok. Sorry. (STUDENT 2 RESUMES READING)

The interaction that takes place around the word 'mocoso' responds to Susan's genuine curiosity to understand the text and engage with it. She models what good readers should do (ask questions while reading). While most reading canons suggest not to stop and look for all the words a reader does not understand as explanations and or

definitions of such unknown words can usually be deduced from its context, Susan asks the question to the students and even though she could get an accurate response from the context and from her Spanish speaking students, she oversees this fact and instead models the use of the glossary for them. While students 1 and 4 (lines 9 and 14 respectively) fail to complement their Spanish native knowledge with the context in which the word is said (they seem to stay with the literal meaning of mocoso in Spanish), student 3 recognizes the accurate meaning and engages in a conversation with Susan as he provides examples from her life to illustrate its meaning (lines 14-33). The interaction between Susan and S3 comes to a halt when in line 34, S1 calls everybody, and especially Susan, to get back on track with her "Miss, we are trying to read miss."

This excerpt should leave little doubt that students are able to engage in literacy activities for a sustained period of time, that they are eager to read, and that they are taking control over their own learning as non-traditional roles for students continue to be evident. Students in this literacy event are active "doing" things. Susan's interaction with S3 responds more to the here and now of the text (the word mocoso and its connotations for S3) and less to an interest in providing a frame for the whole lesson by informing the topic of the lesson or regulating the roles and activities to be performed. Such detailed engagement with texts is usually a good indication that we are no longer at the orientation stage even though reorientations may be present at any time. This here and now is evident in the prevalent use of language signaling present tense and the alternation of student and teacher roles in which the teacher could ask for information about a word (as in line 8) and a student can be in charge of expanding the meaning of such word (as S3 did).

These changes in roles and the language that realize them within this literacy activity stage contrast with the orientation stage. In general, the orientation stage presupposes a more marked relational teacher-student distance which is realized in specific lexico-grammatical choices (i.e., the use of near future or the prevalence of relational processes that distribute or provide attributes). This is so because during the orientation stage in a lesson, the teacher seeks to enact more traditional roles as she informs students about the topic of the class and the roles and activities that will be carried out. If the orientation responds to the question "what will we be doing?", the literacy events stage responds to the question "how do we do it?" The last stage of the 'Pedagogic Storying cycle' seeks to respond to the question what did we learn? It is to this matter, called Pedagogic Climax to which I turn next.

Stage 3: Pedagogic Climax

The purposefulness, goal orientedness, and staged practice of this classroom was so only to arrive to the stage of Pedagogic Climax or new learning. When such a stage is reached, excitement and academic projections are often common. Yet, the language used within the pedagogic climax is both retrospective and prospective. It is retrospective because it specifically ties up with the most immediate and recent literacy content. It looks at the literacy events and usually ties up with what was foreshadowed in the orientation and reaffirmed in the literacy events. It is within this stage that 'macro-news' make their presence and these macro-news become obvious points of departures for new orientations or (re)orientations. This is why, such stage may also be prospective.

It is prospective because there may always be something exciting to be done and planned with new realizations or knowledge. Such new knowledge becomes an anchor for new knowledge. The retrospective characteristics of this stage are almost always teacher lead, but it is usually students' input the one that keeps the discussion flowing. When the prospective characteristics of this stage are almost exclusively a teachers' monologue, a new and optional but stimulating stage appears: the pedagogical moral.

The pedagogical moral is the result of exciting learning going on and it is a unique opportunity for the teacher to explicitly highlight important ideas that students came up with and bring to light essential connections that may have not been obvious before. A classroom in which pedagogical morals are common is a classroom in which enduring and essential understandings are reached frequently. A classroom in which enduring and essential understandings are common projects and fosters an environment in which students are able to take responsibility for their own learning as they move from highly scaffolded pedagogical interventions to peer or independent learning. Because of the enduring nature of the learning that is highlighted within the pedagogical moral, this stage is not as frequent within a single lesson, but within a series of lessons or even macrogenres. The following excerpts seek to exemplify the Pedagogical Climax stage and two focal Pedagogic Morals. One Pedagogic Moral was teacher led and the other was student led.

Students as Co-constructors of Classroom Texts

In some occasions such as the one that is going to be exemplified now, the Pedagogic Climax highly resembles a literacy activity. This may be so because the

student seems engaged in 'doing' some kind of activity related to his/her literacy development. However, it can be labeled Pedagogic Climax because what is more evident is not just that students are engaged in 'doing' some kind of literacy activity but that they are doing so as a *gradual release of responsibility* is in place.

Just as in a narrative, the events in a pedagogic genre begin to be more dramatic as the climax approaches. There is no more vibrant part of a pedagogic genre than the moment in which students are carrying out the bulk of their literacy work and trying to function alone. Such gradual release of responsibility is built upon a series of literacy events. This is why I use several excerpts that belong to the same part of the lesson. These excerpts come from the final part of the lesson within the curricular negotiation of the Folktales macrogenre.

In this part of the lesson, Susan is helping students fill out a character traits chart for Ella Enchanted that divided the personality traits into visible and invisible characteristics (see Figure 18).

The teacher and the students engage in a discussion about the invisible characteristics that better characterize Ella. Susan asks students to specifically look at the evidence in the text that backs up such characteristics. The specific discussion highlights the moment in which they are gathering evidence to back up the claim that Ella was determined (a character trait that was already in the chart).

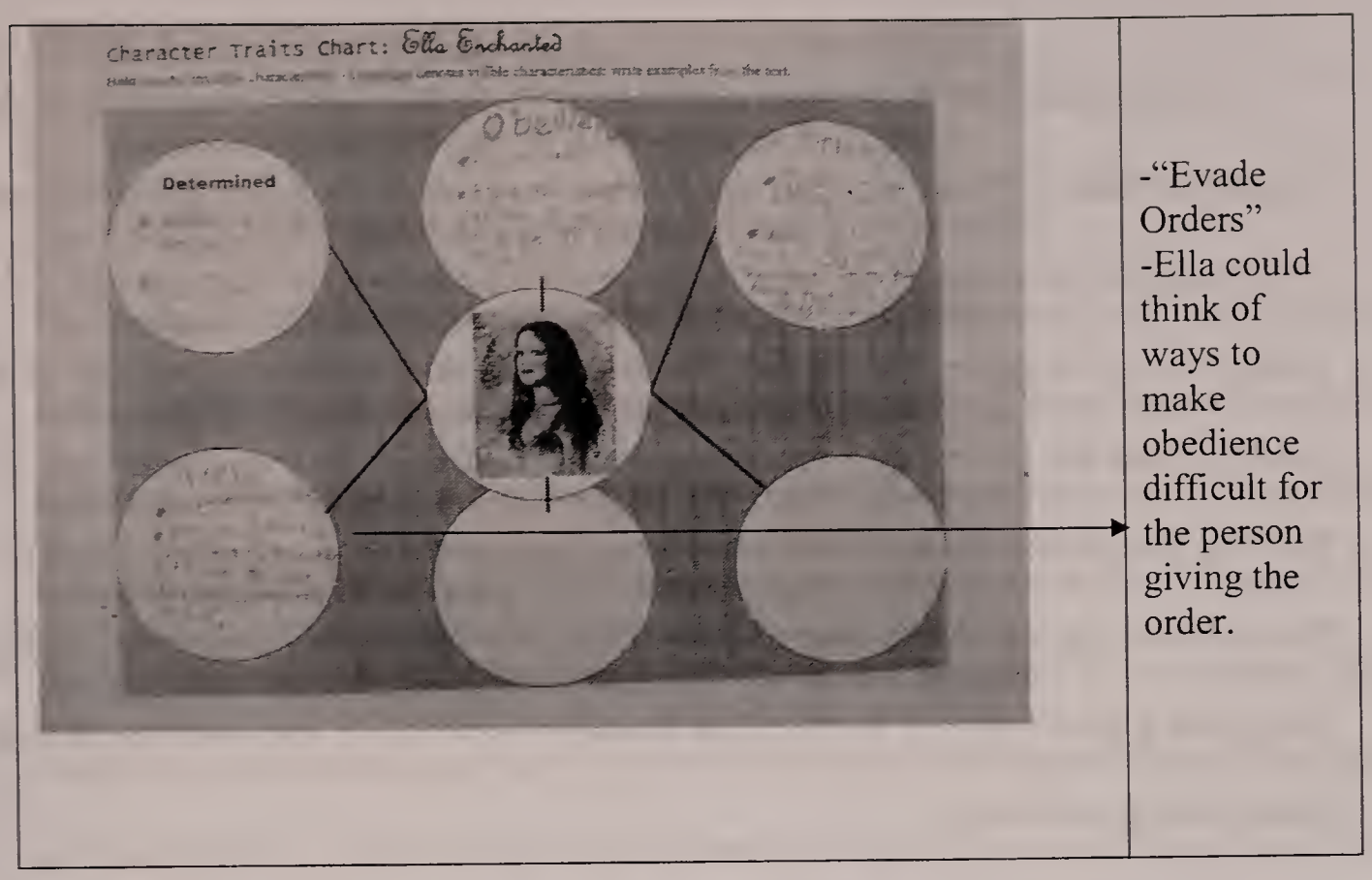


Figure 18. Character Traits Chart: Ella Enchanted

1. Susan: do you want to fill that in now. Do you want to give me a definition to that
2. (NAME OF S1).
3. S1: Determined (TURNS PAGES FROM BOOK EAGERLY, THEN LOOKS AT
4. SUSAN AND PUTS RIGHT HAND ON CHIN)
5. S1: it's to…to….
6. Susan: When you are determined to do something, you are…
7. S1: you are obligated? Demand to do something.
8. Susan: She is…Uhmm…I am determined that you are going to able to read better.
9. S2: you're sure that when you say something it's going to happen.
10. S1: you are sure?
11. Susan: I'm going to make it…//
12. S2: //happen
13. Susan: I am determined. What does that mean? (HOLDS MARKER NEXT TO THE
14. WHITE BOARD SHE HOLDS)
15. S3: make sure that it is going to happen? I don't know.
16. Susan: I'm going to…(WRITES ON BOARD "MAKE SURE IT HAPPENS). Or,
17. well…here's the thing, is it better for you to give me a definition or you want to give
18. me an example where Ella was determined. Would that be easier for you?//
19. S1: //Miss. We have to write that right?
20. Susan: //Uhm, Uhm (AFFIRMING). Because you could do this, it could just be a
21. sentence (WRITES ON BOARD. "ELLA WAS DETERMINED TO FIND HER
22. FAIRY GOD MOTHER.") (STUDENTS WRITE IN THEIR NOTEBOOKS).

Susan then prompts a student who had already stated that Ella was obedient to say it again out loud. She does and then Susan writes obedient on the board, co-constructs with students a definition of the word in the way she did before but this time asks students for the example from the text. S3 tells her that she was obedient because of the curse Ella had and while Susan writes it on the board, students do so in their sheets. After finishing this writing, Susan prompts students to refer to the book to find one more word that describes some invisible characteristic of Ella. She points them to chapter 4 as Ella's father uses a lot of words to describe Ella. Students immediately open their books and begin looking at the text.

S1 suggests the word "thoughtful", but when Susan asks if he can back that up with the text he says he cannot. They all engage with the text and there is silence for some time. After Susan breaks the silence by saying "This is hard ah!" and she points students to a specific sentence in a paragraph and describes Ella as strong. S1 gives an example from the text that exemplifies how Ella is strong and then they all come up with a definition for strong making use of academic words that are displayed in the word wall.

After they write this definition, Susan asks students to look for another word. They all actively engage in finding it as they flip through the pages. Susan gets excited as she finds a word that she says "Can I have one circle? (referring to the circles in the chart designated to write). I just found a word that should be part of our chart. It is in the bottom of page 4." Student 1 starts reading page 4 to himself and Susan prompts him to read a sentence. He then says: Rebel!

1. Susan: A Rebel! I think that makes a real good word that should be in our chart.
2. S1: (WRITES IT ON THE SHEET)

3. S2: that's going to be bold.
4. Susan: Yeah. And now we have to figure out from reading that part what a rebel is.
5. And it kind of defines it if you keep reading. It //
6. S1: . //*...a rebel of me. I was*...(S1
7. READS TEXT ALOUD FOR ABOUT THREE MINUTES).

Student 1 feels the need to keep reading as he is determined to find the evidence in the text (line 7). During the three minutes that S1 is reading, Susan smiles to herself as feeling the excitement of this episode. She recognizes the significance of S1's move as he demonstrates how he is taking responsibility for his own learning and how one can find evidence to back up claims based on examining the text carefully. She encourages him two times to keep reading as he will soon be able to find the evidence they are looking for and thus provides a purposeful reason for reading. With this in mind, S1 reads and keeps reading until he gets to where the evidence is. After three minutes, Susan highlights key evidence from the text S1 had just read and with students help, she writes the definition and the sentence as examples of Ella's personality (see chart above). S1's initiative was certainly a key contributor to the co-construction of everybody's text.

Susan decides to keep on with the lesson without commenting explicitly on the significance of what S1 has accomplished. Although this could have been a good time for a pedagogic moral that would have addressed the gradual release of responsibility through S1's independent reading and contribution to everybody's text and point of the lesson, her decision could be explained by the fact that she knew very well that the MCAS macrogenre would stress the significance and importance of using texts as anchors for making claims and or responding tests. As it was illustrated, these kinds of enduring realizations and significant initiatives take a lot of crafting and reinforcement.

Their greatest challenge lie in building them up continuously and carefully; their greatest value is that they often carry on intertextually in a prospective way.

The careful and continuous building up that carries on intertextually across lessons is an important point. Such process can be further exemplified through focal points of the following lessons as a pedagogical climax is carefully crafted. The following excerpts are part of a series of lessons that took place during the curriculum closure stage of the MCAS macrogenre. The beginning lesson was referenced before as it provided one of the two illustrations of how Susan used humor to avoid confrontation with a student regarding a written task that required students to reflect about Gary Soto as a writer, and his intentional use of Spanish in his work. At this time in the class, students had just finished reading one of the chapters from Gary Soto's play "Novio Boy."

It is worth noting that even though Susan "*was supposed to just model reading*" (as she told the students) students decided they wanted to assign roles and read out loud themselves instead of listening to the teacher. Although the student's reading out loud certainly can be thought out as part of the literacy activities stage, the engaging conditions and students' initiative seem ripe for a transition into a pedagogical climax. We certainly enter into this stage as students begin to answer the question posed by Susan.

1. Susan: I just want to you write in your notebooks (TURNS AND BEGINGS
2. READING QUESTION WRITTEN ON THE BOARD). How does Gary Soto use
3. language in this chapter//
4. S1: to understand Mexican culture//
5. Susan: to help his readers understand Mexican culture?
6. (STUDENTS IMMEDIATELY BEGIN TRYING TO ANSWER THE QUESTION)
7. Susan: Ok. But how does he use it? He is not just throwing it in there, he is kind of
8. using it//
9. S2: I don't know.
10. Susan: Ok, but that is kind of what I want you to think about.

At this time, Susan leaves the rest of the class to themselves and she encourages them to write all the wonderful answers they had been uttering simultaneously. As they write, she engages in a conversation with two students who seemed to be struggling with the question and who were conspicuously silent.

> Susan: Think about the question. Why do you think he put Spa…He didn't want to put Spanish here. He didn't have to use it at all, he could have just made up a play…about a boy who likes some other girl. But in his writing, in his story there is a lot of culture in there. He is giving you a lot of clues about people through the words he is using, through the words he put in the book. How is that language used help you learn more about Mexican culture, did you learn anything about Mexican culture? Or these people ….. So, do you think maybe there's Uhmmm, superstitions in the culture? Do you think the curandera, curandera Rosa? They were talking about spells and potions and things…You know a lot of cultures say that, the Irish culture they used to read tea leaves... I used to have…My grandmother like if you had a cup of tea and they have like tea leaves left at the bottom of the cup, she would…, you would drink the tea and she'd look a the bottom of the cup and she would tell your future through…you know by you tea, they read your tea leaves. So, most cultures have a lot of curanderas. He used that to give you a little clue about this culture.

The previous excerpt shows Susan trying to build conceptual bridges between Gary Soto's strategic use of Spanish and the cultural concepts this choice helps to highlight. Susan uses her experiences with her own grandmother to connect to students at a more personal level as she shares some of her own lived experiences as an Irish American that are relevant and bear some connections with Gary Soto's writing. By the

time Susan had finished this cultural reference, students who wrote their answers were eager to show Susan what they had written and began handing in their notebooks. Susan used their insistence to acknowledge their work and also to give the two focal students she was talking with some extra time as they were clearly listening attentively but producing little insights. Some of the responses that she read out loud were:

> *Gary Soto uses language by using Spanish, Mexican and English altogether and making people understand other languages;*
>
> *because maybe he didn't want to make the book for Americans or Mexicans because maybe he wanted everyone to understand his book.*
>
> *He liked people who understand English to read Spanish and Spanish people to read English so that they can learn about other people's cultures.*
>
> *Because maybe he didn't want to make the book for Americans in his culture and he wanted everyone to understand his book because maybe he had a life like that.*

Still in an embryonic stage, students are beginning to grasp the purposeful use of Spanish in Gary Soto's texts. Susan comes back to the students she was helping before. After much encouragement, one of them finally reads her answer to Susan. It seems that Susan expected that the previous responses students produced had somehow pushed this student's thinking. This seems so because even though this student produced an answer that had the same general idea as the previous ones, Susan prompted the student to give more detailed answers.

1. Susan: does he want people to understand the kind of people in the book?...the
2. characters? Is he trying to paint a picture of their lives or anything?
3. S3: I don't know (SHRUGGING HER SHOULDERS)
4. Susan: //I don't know.

Susan tries hard to lead S3 into more elaborated answers and even brings up the familiar intertextual reference from previous lessons (line 2) that implicitly mentions the

"Show don't tell strategy" already referenced here. S3 does not take up Susan's line of though and as they reach a dead end in the conversation (line 4). At this point, Susan uses a culturally relevant experiential recontextualization involving family experiences that prompts both students (especially S2) to vividly engage in a conversation with Susan. This time however, it was not Susan the one who told about her lived experiences. Instead, she explicitly asked students about members of their family in order to trigger some connections between their lived experiences and the focal text. Such conversation, eventually leads to enduring learning for the students and a brief but significant pedagogical moral of the whole engagement with Gary Soto's texts.

1. Susan: Do you have people in your family that do this…that speak in English and
2. throw Spanish words in (STUDENT 3 NODS IN AGREEMENT).
3. Susan: You do! (STUDENT KEEPS NODDING)
4. S3: My grandma.
5. Susan: She does? (STUDENT NODS IN AGREEMENT). Give me an example.

S3 focuses on explaining how her grandma says something to her in English and then uses Spanish but fails to provide an example of such situation. It is at this point that S2 begins a series of lively and animated stories about her "Abuela" (Grandma) that describe in numerous ways the concomitant use of Spanish and English. Susan uses these multiple examples to highlight not only the profound meaning of language, but the importance of seeing bilingualism as a resource.

1. S2: (HAS BEEN TALKING ABOUT HER ABUELA FOR ABOUT 2 MINUTES).
2. Susan: You know what? "*Abuela*" (HOLDS GARY SOTO'S BOOK UP). I see a book
3. like this in your future. A play about you and your abula….
4. S2: Yeah!
5. Susan: and how she took the money, and the dog was going to the bathroom on the rug
6. and…you could write a really good play like that.
7. S2: My grandma is funny (ROCKS BACK AND FORTH EXCITEDLY).
8. Susan: Yeah! Are you writing any of this down, what she says?

9. S2: No, I just remember it (KEEPS ROCKING BACK AND FORTH)
10. S2: (KEEPS TALKING ALMOST UNINTERRUPTEDLY ABOUT HER ABUELA
11. FOR MORE THAN 4 MINUTES)…her feet are so tiny, she is a little kid's size, she
12. is side three in little kids, for little girls, she is size three.
13. Susan: she's a peanut! How old is she?
14. S2: She is Eighty…one.
15. Susan: Ohhhh (EXPRESSING SURPRISE). You have to start writing all this down.
16. S2: Her birth date is July 4th.
17. Susan: Really!! She is a little firecracker baby!!
18. S2: Yeah…(BEGINS ANOTHER SET OF STORIES ABOUT HER ABUELA).

At this point, S2's excitement is more than evident. Susan has been unsuccessfully trying in repeated times (lines 3-4; line 9, and lines 16-17) to use the students' engaging series of narratives as academic literacy entry points by suggesting the possibility of writing these oral stories and even seeing a book in the students' future. Because of the highly contextualized moment in which this otherwise unthinkable moment is made, the student agrees to the otherwise unlikely possibility of advancing her literacy habitus to that of an author. However, and even though S2 agrees with Susan that her abuela stories would make a good book or play, it is still evident that she is more interested in keep telling stories than in extending the significance of them for literacy purposes. This is when Susan, once again but this time more explicitly, prompts the student to overtly respond to the issue of mixing English and Spanish, the experiential meaning originally intended in the question posed for students.

1. Susan: so, if you were writing this book about abuela. Would you put it all in English?
2. S2: No, I'd put some Spanish.
3. Susan: Because that is part of your…(TOUCHES HEART)
4. S2: Yeah. It's part of what…(TOUCHES HEART REPEATEDLY AS SHE ROCKS
5. EXCITEDLY BACK AND FORTH)
6. Susan: Language is like part of you.
7. S2: Yeah!! (ROCKING)
8. Susan: I don't think you can separate it sometimes.

It would not be difficult to think that realizations such as these bear the potential to stay with students even in the absence of all teaching. That is, despite the fact that is evident that Susan led the conversation into this kind of conclusion, it is also undeniable that the literacy habitus of the students could be somehow affected positively. This is so, because unthinkable designs are made available just by foregrounding, exalting, and valuing in a non-traditional way student's lived experiences.

This episode can be described as Pedagogical Climax because with the original question posed, the teacher is explicitly asking students to respond to an issue that they had been talking for many lessons. Students had read poems, stories, and plays by the same author throughout this unit and now they were given the opportunity to express in writing and in an open way how Gary Soto's writings had impacted them as readers. Just as it is true in narratives in which the reader is wondering what would happen next, a pedagogic climax such as the previous one tends hold similar expectations on observers. Instead of specifically asking what will happen next, how will this problem get solved or not, the observer or teacher involved in a pedagogic climax cannot help but wonder if the student will get the pedagogic intention of the lesson or the specific questions; if the student will show significant insights of learning.

With the teacher's definite help and lead, students not only show they are beginning to understand Gary Soto's intentional use of Spanish in his work as a direct window into Mexican culture. The two students who were the focus on this last example and especially S2 may see their bilingualism and biculturalism as a resource that could be used creatively for more academic purposes.

The issue of the teacher leading students too much into coming up with the 'right' answer however, may still cast a shadow over the significance and nature of the nature of the enduring learning that is supposed to have happened. However, the teachers' intentional mention of native language as part of one's identity and how such identity is always carried out in a person as it cannot be separated, responds in my opinion, to what I would label as a Pedagogic Moral. If one analyzes the last excerpt as a Pedagogical Climax, it is easy to notice that the teacher seems to lead the answers too much. Looking at it as a Pedagogical Moral however, reveals an important difference. As already stated, pedagogical morals seem to be almost exclusively teacher centered as in the form of a monologue that explicitly makes connections between what a student or students have said and the enduring purposes of the lesson. This is exactly what Susan is trying to accomplish here. The only difference is that she chooses to still engage in a dialogue with the student, rather than simply lay out the connections she sees between the students' extensive use of narratives about her grandmother and the literacy potential these stories have.

Without a doubt however, more evidence of independent thinking and learning would be an ideal confirmation if one is to comfortably suggest that these students actually and enduringly took up some of these important insights. Almost two weeks later, an episode that involved the same two students shows evidence of significant durable and independent learning. Susan brought to class many different stories for students. She describes each one of them and suggests students who may be interested in reading it. The story that is being described for our focal students (they are the same S2 and S3 from last example) is called "The Skirt."

Susan provides interesting details about the story as she describes the problem the main character is facing and explicitly connects the background of the main character with the one of the two focal students. Soon enough both students were eager to read and find out what would happen to this Latina girl who had left her folkloric skirt on the bus. Susan went back and forth between students asking them to recount the stories they were reading. She would often help them read aloud or ask them to read. The conversation would often lead to a discussion about the familiar "Show don't tell" strategy; one important point that kept coming up as Susan discussed the "Skirt" story with the two students.

1. Susan: We'll just read this page and then we are going to stop and write about what we
2. read in our notebooks.
3. S3: (READING ALOUD). Their mouths were fat with gum.
4. Susan: what does that mean, their mouths were fat with gum?
5. S3: They had a lot of gum in their mouths.
6. Susan: Yeah. He paints a lot of pictures Gary Soto. He never just comes out and tells
7. you something. He…he shows not tells. He describes the situation and he paints you a
8. picture and you figure out what is happening from that//
9. S3: //this is Gary Soto? //
10. Susan: //and he is good at it// Uhmm?
11. S3: This is Gary Soto?
12. Susan: Yeah! Look! (POINTS TO THE TEXT). He could have just said they were
13. chewing gum.

Right after this, Susan prompts everybody to stop their reading and write in their notebooks. It was here that a student moaned loudly and Susan addressed such an objection by pointing out the need for a positive environment in the humorous way that was already referenced.

1. Susan: Here is my question that you are going to answer in your book under Gary
2. Soto's work. Which is chapter….I think it's page 12.
3. What I want you to do…is finish this sentence: As a writer, I think Gary
4. Soto…(PAUSES FOR FEW SECONDS)
5. S4: Gary Soto….(RISING INTONATION)…What?
6. Susan: I don't know. What do you think of him so far. What did he do as a writer in the

7. book you are reading? These ladies have a really good answer (POINTING TO THE
8. STUDENTS READING THE SKIRT).
9. S3: He describes…he describes. He makes you paint a picture.
10. Susan: He paints a picture and you as the reader have to…(RISING INTONATION)
11. S2: Say, like the meaning?
12. Susan: Figure out what he is telling you in the story? Right. You have to get meaning
13. from the pictures he paints. And you have to imagine the story. So you're done, you
14. have yours!! As a writer Gary Soto….(RISES INTONATION)

Susan gives students time to come up with "very good answers". Notice how in this occasion the prompt is much vaguer and thus more difficult to answer than the one about Gary Soto using language to help his readers understand Mexican culture. Because the prompt allowed for a much broader spectrum of answers, students needed to select from different options and make sure their choice was relevant and appropriate for a knowledgeable audience who was familiar with Soto's writing. This diversity, the enhanced sense of audience along with the improved quality in students' responses suggests that significant learning has been achieved. Some of the students' responses were:

As a writer, I like the way Gary Soto uses two languages and he also has a glossary for the people who don't know Spanish.

When prompted to read her answer, S3 did not address the issue of using both English and Spanish. She instead focused on Soto's use of descriptive language.

1. S3: I like the way Gary Soto writes to describe (unintelligible…) and paints a picture.
2. Susan: So he paints a picture and then you have to figure it out the meaning of what he
3. paints. Like if I said, Mrs (NAME OF PARAPROFESSIONAL) is sitting over the
4. corner and tears are coming out of her face.
5. S3: that means she is sad.
6. Susan: Yeah. You have to figure it out.

Student 3 demonstrates a satisfactory written and oral assessment of the "Show don't Tell" strategy that Susan had been working for some lessons. Despite this evidence, it may be difficult to determine for sure if the realization of the importance and

purposeful nature of using descriptive language or the importance of using their native language as a resource will keep being part of student's literacy identity. What is certain however, as it has been demonstrated here, is that the Pedagogical Climax is a stage that should be carefully and strategically built up. Its success depends on how skillful the teacher is in incorporating students' insights into the narrative and extending the students' rationale so that related enduring points seem not just natural but can be reached independently as a gradual release of responsibility is possible and desirable.

Building up to a pedagogical climax however, has many more nuances. Its buildup and ultimate success are not just tied to the micro context of the classroom. As I have tried to show throughout this study, this micro cosmos is overdetermined by institutional and macro constraints. The following episode shows how Susan shows frustration because although she has crafted an effective orientation and a (re)orientation with corresponding engaging literacy activities, the pedagogical climax could not be accomplished due to several factors external to the classroom or the lesson per se. With the following excerpt, we once more come back to the lesson in which students were first reading different essays that modeled poor to advanced writing ability (essays responding to the poem "I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings"), and then they were called to read and rate the essays they had written the day before (see foreshadowing section above). The whole point of the lesson (and definitely an important point of the whole macrogenre) was for students to recognize the areas in their writing in which they could improve. They first worked on this objective by listening and analyzing someone else's writing. Then, they were called to read and analyze their own writing. The analysis was anchored by actual writing rubrics that raters would use in the MCAS.

In a previous section, I reproduced a brief excerpt in which Susan told students to read and rate their own essay. She then gives them a good reason to read as they are to find out who in the class got a 4! (advanced rating). However, and even though students seem eager to begin reading their essays to find out if they were the ones who got this wonderful grade, the student who coincidentally got the advanced rating (we will call him Jesus) is called to comply with a school detention he got from the day before. Instead to reporting to the place he was supposed to be for the whole day, he had come to Susan's class. He either forgot to report to the detention office or intentionally went to Susan's class.

1. Man on the door: …come on. Let's go! (IN AN AUTHORITATIVE VOICE)
2. (JESUS LOOKS AT SUSAN. SUSAN SHOWS FRUSTRATION)
3. Susan: Jesuuuuus! (EXPRESSING SURPRISE AND DISSAPOINTMENT AS
4. EVERYBODY SEES JESUS LEAVE THE ROOM SLOWLY).
5. Susan: Well... We'll do this with Jesus tomorrow, maybe someone could fill him in.
6. Jesus got one of the better grades, you know (TALKING TO THE MAN ON THE
7. DOOR. JESUS AND THE MAN LEAVE).
8. S1: he forget, he forget [sic] (REFERRING TO JESUS FORGETING TO REPORT
9. TO THE OFFICE)….he forget [sic] and I am not going to tell him either.
10. Susan: No, honey. I'm glad you didn't. I didn't know, so I would have…You know
11. what (MAKES FRUSTRATION GESTURE WITH HANDS AND FACE)…what
12. can we do right?
13. Susan: If he could have stayed with us, he would have benefited more xxxx
14. (unintelligible)….(SIGHS). Not in the good part (ALMOST WHISPERING).

Even if Susan or anybody else had filled Jesus in, the careful pedagogic progression Susan had crafted to build anticipation and engagement so that Jesus would feel the interest to read and find out if he got the advanced rating was lost. In addition, the mystery and expectation Susan had created in students as they had to read and find out if they were the ones who got the higher grade was somewhat spoiled too as Susan had given a strong indication that Jesus was that person (line 7). Susan was successful in

quickly engaging the students again in the task at hand even though the class atmosphere of excitement was definitely affected by the episode just referenced.

Susan takes a little more than 10 minutes to explain the two components of the rubric they were going to use to rate their papers (topic development and conventions). During this time, she frequently referenced the essays they had read on the "I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings" poem although she expresses frustration once again because the rubric they were using to grade their papers did not correspond to the rubric they had already used with the Maya Angelou's poem. In addition to the difference in the language used in both rubrics, the former scored essays from 1-6 while the latter did so from 1-4.

1. Susan: (ADDRESSING THE PARAPROFESSIONAL). Why America's Choice had
2. me use Maya Angelou and give a short answer….and then…do this, I'm not sure.
3. But this is what….(MAKES FRUSTRATION FACE)…I have to do.
4. Personally (WHISPERING AND COVERING HER MOUTH WITH THE RUBRIC
5. SO THAT STUDENTS DO NOT SEE)
6. I don't (unintelligible) but (SIGHS)…Oh well.

This episode added to the already unsettling environment in the class. Even so, she was able to maintain students' interest and motivation despite the fact that she made students realize that their essays would likely be around 2 and 3 within the 1-6 score guide without creating frustration in them. This was so, I argue, because Susan framed this discussion around the ways in which students would be able to advance one or even two writing scales. Numerous examples were used to illustrate such a possibility but the one that was clearer and produced most excitement in students was the one when she improvised the "Show don't Tell" example already referenced. In fact, after coming up with this "Show don't tell example" that students loved and were really excited about and that exemplified a characteristic of an essay that would be scored as four, Susan commented:

> Susan: You don't have to worry about fours because we are not there yet…And you don't have to worry about fives and sixes because we are not there either. We are just not there. Most of yours are twos or threes.

This is when Susan again creates another reason to read when she tells students that they have to read their essay and rate it and then Susan will disclose the grade she gave them (excerpt already analyzed). Susan passes the essays to students and tells them that out of all the classes she teaches, only two students got a score of four. Then she adds: one of those two students is in this class! Who got a four, says one student. Who? yells another student. Tell us Miss, who got a four!! At this point, the class atmosphere was back at a climax point. Students were eager to read their essays to find out if perhaps they were the ones who had gotten such great score, and they were eager to score the essay to see if that matched that of the teachers'.

Right at this moment, the principal begins talking on the loudspeaker. The students and the teacher usually stopped anything they were doing to listen to the announcements. This time however and although it was difficult to try to outspeak the loudspeaker, they were just too eager to read and find out to stop and listen and thus neither the teacher nor the students paid attention to the loudspeaker for some minutes. Because the lesson was at a Pedagogical Climax stage, any disruption to the pedagogical storyline was collectively and purposefully avoided by students and the teacher. The principal announcements finished, the pledge of allegiance performed by second graders was completed, and so was a familiar tune called "My country" that was played everyday.

At the same time that announcements, pledges, and songs filled the room, students were reading their essays. As this interruption extended for over 5 minutes

altogether, some students even rated their essay, told Susan the score they had given themselves and heard Susan's score and details about why they got such score.

1. S1: Miss, what did you give me?
2. Susan: What did you give yourself?
3. S1: two, four
4. Susan: You gave yourself a two, four? (LOOKS AT HER PAPERS).
5. I gave you a three, three.
6. S2: Miss, what I got miss?

When the principal began another set of announcements, Susan decided they all needed to listen this time. When the announcements finished, Susan told students that she was very impressed and pleased to see what they had written and what the next step of the lesson was now that they knew the score she had given them.

1. Susan: …then we are going to talk about how you got the scores and what we can do to
2. make it…go up one point. Even if you got a four, what do you need to get a five. If
3. you have a three (ADDRESSING A STUDENT WHO ACTUALLY GOT A THREE)
4. what could you do to get a four…because you guys did so well, you could just change
5. one or two little things and get more points (SOMEONE KNOCKS ON DOOR).

As Susan is explaining what the class will be doing for the next half an hour of the lesson, Student 2 listens attentively but standing. S2 feels uneasy because she understands that this is an important part of the lesson but a student has just knocked on the classroom door. The student is here to pick up S2 as well as other two students from the class to go to speech therapy.

1. Susan: Why do you have to go?
2. S2: We have to go to speech (POINTS TO THE DOOR).
3. S1: oh! I have to go too.
4. Susan: too bad. Sit down because you my only four. Sit. You are not going. They come
5. get you (MAKES GESTURE WITH HAND SIGNALING HER TO SIT DOWN).
6. S2: they told us to go there!
7. Susan: I know, but we'll pretend that you forgot. Sit (MAKES HAND GESTURE
8. AGAIN AS SHE SMILES)
9. (S2 SMILES TOO).

10. Susan: I need you!
11. S2: I'm gonna get in trouble
12. Susan: That's ok. I'll take your…detention. (S2 SMILES).

Susan resumes with her feedback and scores to another student but sighs in frustration as S2, S1, and another student leave her classroom as the speech pathologist went to the class to pick the students up herself. Other students stand up and get distracted as side conversations begin to emerge. Although Susan did manage to briefly give some pointers to a student in how to improve his writing from two to three, students began to leave their seats for no apparent reason.

> Susan: It seems that my whole group just felt apart. Thank you very much speech pathologist (SIGHS IN DESPAIR).

The lesson progression above shows Susan fighting against all kinds of odds in order to reach the Pedagogical Climax of the lesson. She was not able to reach this important stage however, as students did not explicitly demonstrate in any way how their writing can be better as a result of looking at writing samples and analyzing their own and thus their intertextual prospective value is at best unclear and at worst forgotten. Susan lived up to the continuous challenge of building up the pedagogical climax despite several constraints. This time however, the intricacies dealing with students' usual resistance to engage with texts or some of their ingrained deficit thinking to describe themselves as readers was not evident. Instead, a series of unfortunate occurrences outside her realm of control eventually prevented Susan to lead her students to enduring learning.

The first attempt to fight back some of these hindrances was weak and indirect as she expressed to the man who came for Jesus how he had had one of the best scores in the essay. Perhaps because of the lack of contextualization of such remark, Susan was

ineffective in keeping Jesus in the class where, as she explicitly then told to other students, "If he could have stayed with us, he would have benefited more." After this, the lesson could have gone astray easily had Susan not been skillful and quick to address the inconsistencies between the two scoring rubrics the class was using.

The second big threat to reaching the pedagogical Climax was indeed the long series of announcements and other related matters over the loudspeaker. This time, students and teacher, built an effective cover against 'outside noise' and instead advanced significantly toward such goal. Susan could deal with the fact that one of his anchor students for the lesson was not going to be there. She was able in building several 'mystery' moments for students to motivate them to read. She was successful in addressing and minimizing the confusion caused by the discrepancy in the writing scoring rubrics. Even more, she was skillful in engaging students so much that they effectively shielded themselves from any external happenings that would prevent them from finding out if the scores they gave to their essays matched with those of the teacher. Loosing 4 students out of 8 right before her Pedagogical Climax proved to be too much however, and even though she attempted to take desperate and non-conventional measures to prevent students from going to the speech therapist, her group fell apart.

With the group disintegrated and the thrust lost, the pedagogical momentum she had reached in several occasions was nowhere to be found. Students' learning had been effectively interrupted as literacy events no longer built up to generate a pedagogical climax. Such occasion needed to wait until a later opportunity. The excerpts above illustrate how a lesson is a social practice that even though could be purposeful, goal oriented, and staged, its success or failure is constrained and enabled by schooling and

surrounding communities in particular. That is, building up to a pedagogical climax is not just tied to the micro context of the classroom. As demonstrated in this section, this micro cosmos is overdetermined by different constituents at the institutional and macro level as well as constituents at the individual level. This individual level was realized in Susan's pedagogic repertoire and students' interaction with it and with their peers.

Pedagogical Moral

Recall that the Pedagogical Moral stage is the result of stimulating learning that has or is taking place during the Pedagogical Climax. In addition of being a unique opportunity for the teacher to explicitly highlight important ideas of the lesson retrospectively and bring to light essential connections that may have not been obvious before, the pedagogical moral is above all an explicit extension to the Pedagogical Climax. Also, as demonstrated with the previous set of excerpts, any advanced stage in a lesson or series of lessons needs to be not only carefully and skillfully crafted, but its success is also contingent upon constituents that are external to the micro interactions and relationships built in the classroom. A Pedagogical Moral is one of the ways in which a lesson can get to a happy resolution. It can be recognized when an extension of learning is evident and can be directly observed. Such Pedagogic Moral is, as already described, most commonly teacher led as in the case with the already reference episode in which Susan tried to recontextualize S3's Abuela stories into another academic genre. Sometimes however, such an enduring learning is student led. An example that highlights how students decided to collectively take responsibility for their own learning follows.

Student Led Pedagogical Moral

After finishing a drawing representing one of the favorite moments from Gary Soto's poem "Oranges", four students spontaneously decided to sit down around a table to read "Novio Boy"

1. Paraprofessional: so, (NAME OF STUDENT), you are Juan?
2. S1: I'll be Juan and Elaine.
3. S2: Dale (TALKING TO STUDENT 3). Quien va a ser Patricia [Go on. Who is
4. Patricia?].
5. S3: I'm Patricia
6. S2: y Rudy? Tu eres Patricia y Rudy. Y tu eres Juan y Elaine.{and Rudy? You are
7. Patricia and Rudy. And you are Juan and Elaine}
8. Paraprofesional: Ok. Y tu? {and you}
9. S1: Who is the narrator?
10. S2: Este (POINTING TO S4). {him}
11. S4: La maestra {the teacher}
12. S2: La maestra es la narrator {the teacher is the narrator}
13. Paraprofesional: No! Tu eres. Tu eres (POINTING TO S2).
14. S2: No.
15. S3: Oh, men. Let's go. Yes! (LOOKING AT STUDENT 2)
16. S3: Start!
17. Paraprofessional: Start!
18. S2: I don't want to start.
19. S1: you are the narrator
20. Paraprofessional: you are the narrator.
21. S2: (BEGINS TO READ IN 'NARRATOR'S VOICE').

In storytelling a moral is the message or messages conveyed or a lesson or lessons to be learned from a story or event. Although the students themselves do not utter any lesson explicitly, the first thing that a hearer or viewer learns from this episode is that students purposefully and independently chose to assemble themselves to read even though the class format was open enough with Susan doing something else that they could have probably gotten away with not doing academic work. Besides, let's not forget that these students are supposed to be reluctant readers!

At this point in the year, reading does not seem 'their worst enemy' but a rather positive experience that brings them together. A second important thing to notice is that in addition to taking the initiative to read, students (and especially) student 2 is taking a leadership role in assigning roles for students. His role as organizer is acknowledged although he struggles to dominate the conversation as the paraprofessional battles subtly to get the floor of the conversation. S2 only succumbs to the direct and repetitive order (in Spanish) by the paraprofessional and S1 to be the narrator. He acknowledges such pressure and is offered the important job of narrator which he begins to perform with the attitude and intonation that had been touched upon before numerous times during the MCAS macrogenre.

We began our discussion on the Folktales macrogenre by mentioning the enduring purposes that Susan seemed to be working on early on in the year:

- To engage struggling readers
- To identify reading identities in students
- To challenge/transform ingrained deficit reading identities
- To make students *want* to read

This is a good time to briefly reference what happened in the fourth and last macrogenre of the year. This is so because what Susan sought to accomplish during the year began to take shape during the Folktales macrogenre, became highly strengthened during the MCAS one, and reached a higher level during the Child Labor macrogenre.

During this fourth part of the school year, early May to June, instruction on the READ 180 class focused again on the guidelines of the READ 180 curriculum and not in

the America's Choice one. This was made possible because the MCAS test was already administered to the students and thus the controls and anxiety level were not as high. This was also made possible because the focus topic of READ 180 (Child labor) was perhaps one of the most engaging and motivating units of all year. It was so much so that the topic was able to almost completely 'flatten out' the usual power hierarchies present in classroom to the point that the teacher, the researcher, the two paraprofessionals, and students a) learned about the global economy, child labor and sweatshops, b) changed consumption habits and beliefs, and c) took collective action to modify their immediate school environment.

While America's choice curriculum was still present (this time they were supposed to read a lot of books by Cathy Patterson beginning with Bridge to Therabithia), Susan followed it more as a matter of protocol, and did not required students to complete assignments or deeply analyze any of the content of the book. Students would usually come to class asking Susan to please not to continue reading 'that book'. Susan was happy enough with students attitudes about the book because although she likes the book a lot, 'it just takes a long time to really get to where the action starts'.

This 'third space', ironically opened up in the context of two prescribed programs, talks of the indeterminacy and complexity of any educational endeavor and situates education as a contested terrain in which change and transformation, even in the era of 'high stakes' education, is possible. Openness and 'space to maneuver' for teachers can never be totally absent of program implementation. Curriculum developers know this and even those programs with prescriptive characteristics need to take the teacher into account. For example, this conception lies even in the foundation of the creator of the

READ 180 program. This is so because programs adopted by districts without the participation of the teachers who are to implement them are often received with resistance as 'teacher proof', 'canned' or 'prepackaged' programs. Dr. Hasselbring strategically positions his product to address this potential criticism and resistance:

> We let technology do what it does best and we allow competent teachers to do what they do best. The combination is very powerful and leads to greater success on the part of the students."

Thus, and although, it is easy to attack programs and label them as scripted or prescribed, the important role of an experienced and competent teacher can be exalted as she is able to 'strategically align' (Ramirez, 2006) with external mandates at the macro level (i.e., NCLB) while also doing so with the needs and rights of her students. Thus, extended and careful observation of the patterns it creates in 'language in use' can pinpoint the indeterminacy of educational endeavors, the impossibility of determining classroom interactions solely based on mandated curriculum, and the importance of having experienced and competent teachers who use human and technical resources in the service of learning.

The data presented here was instrumental in showing that the above mentioned important and specific objectives were indeed reached to a certain degree. However, such an exploration was not the center of our inquiry as a high degree of success was expected out of this experienced teacher. Susan had been a referent for excellence and a hub of support for other teachers. The question that concerned us was the *way* in which such objectives were specifically accomplished. The detailed description and study of Susan's pedagogic repertoire revealed that her practice strategically aligned (to students' rights, needs, and backgrounds; to the thought collectives of the profession, and to state

standards and mandates) as it was purposeful, goal oriented, and staged. As such, this chapter not only focused on describing the grammar of strategic alignment; that is, how such strategic alignment was realized through purposeful, goal-oriented and staged practices that assembled a nurturing and culturally relevant environment for struggling readers, but also explored the use of strategic alignment as a way to serve the spirit and not the letter of contemporary educational reforms.

CHAPTER 6

OVERVIEW OF MAIN FINDINGS

The following section presents conclusions of this dissertation in a summarized way. Their order corresponds to each of the fourth parts of the findings section.

Chapter 5, Parts 1 and 2

Looking back into the recent educational history of the United States, this dissertation has argued that in the current era of accountability, the over reliance on 'scientific research' as the sole legitimate source informing instruction (Kerney 1995 as cited O. o. E. a. S. E. US Department of Education, 2002; Kerney as cited in Wells et al., 1998 p. 338), and the systematic deskilling of teachers and teachers work are not as much related to educational policies as they are to economic ones. This implies that although current educational policies impacting schools and teacher's work such as the Reading First Provisions under the No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB) foreground their educational content, they are guided by economic reductionist rationales dominant in neoliberal times. Such foregrounding of 'education' to achieve economic goals is possible among other things through controlling and regulating discourse. In current neoliberal dominant times, discourse that presents itself as progressive and compassionate and which backgrounds its capitalist economic intentions becomes a key player in creating the conditions of existence of current capitalist arrangements. Thus, in many respects, discourse struggle is directly linked to class struggle (Voloshinov et al., 1973).

Following Lemke 1995; Fairclough 2003; (McKenna & Graham, 2000) and Graham 2006, this dissertation shows evidence of how cornerstone educational discourse texts such as the ANAR report and the NCLB act make use of a form of technocratic discourse to advance neoliberal ideals and effectively deceive the public both generically and lexically as they are constituted in a way that ensures particular interpretations aimed at massively interpellate. Technocratic discourse functions as the linguistic manifestation of interpellation.

The focal texts use a discourse that makes use of a lot of rhetorical, syntactic, and lexico-grammar to pursue its agenda. It is highly hortatory (Fairclough 2000; 2003) or in Bakhtin' s terms, it is 'pre-eminently 'monological' discourse' (Lemke 1995: 60). In current economic discussions as well as in educational discourse such as the NCLB, technocratic discourse has been used to naturalize, reify highly abstract ideas and represent itself as 'a supplier of facts' as 'neutral and objective'.

As it was demonstrated, the NCLB act advances the much needed crisis metaphor spread to the collective consciousness by the ANAR and its subsequent textual echoes. This advancement is partly the result of the adoption of selective conceptions and a rhetoric of 'science' to instill propositional value. While this reliance on 'what works', what has 'scientifically proven effective', and what is patriotic after September 11, 2001 was effective to generate bipartisan support in US congress, the misrepresentation and uncritical adoption of the language of science has at the same time generated an inescapable dead end for prescriptive practices in which the legislation such as the No Child Left Behind has fallen into. The paradox is that while educational policy is aspiring to close debate by moving towards certainty, demonstrated practices, and prescription,

science is moving towards uncertainty, the ineffability of theories, and openness with new and puzzling discoveries in astrophysics, nanoscience, and medicine.

The dominant neoliberal economic determinist rationality intrinsic in focal cornerstone texts and the use of technocratic discourse to promote their agendas provides another frame for looking at educational reform in the U.S. It provides ample justification to look at reforms of this type as economic and not educational proposals. It also provides a different rationale to look beyond the progressive and compassionate discourse that entire reforms or specific constructs espouses. Under this new lens, raising the educational achievement of Hispanic students for example becomes critical to the U.S. economy and not only to the individuals whose lives are shaped by poverty. The latter and not the former is foregrounded in all the official writings related to the NCLB despite the undoubted and primary economic interest associated with the provisions of the law. Other conclusions follow:

- In critically looking at the learning assumptions and consequences of the Reading First Provisions of the NCLB (which is theorized as belonging to the Official Recontextualizing Field –ORF and then further explained through the pedagogic reservoir metaphor), it was demonstrated how intertextual thematic formations advancing neoliberal ideology instantiated in the a Nation at Risk Reform and the No Child Left Behind Act have ferociously tried to control what happens in the classroom for more than two decades. It was also demonstrated how the NCLB, while using the same progressive discourse that characterize initiatives of this sort, bluntly espouses a profit agenda for education as it frontally attacks public schooling in the name of efficiency. The data in this dissertation confirms

Bernstein's claim that the ORF is currently trying to completely do away with the Pedagogical Recontextualizing Field (PRF) in an attempt to reduce the power and pedagogical mediation of teachers, but in the long run to do away with public education in general.

- Under neoliberal ideology, a market based approach to education is ideal as specific think tanks and corporations conceptualize education as a site for making exorbitant profits as well as forming skilled, flexible and lifelong workers for the economy and teachers that identify as intellectuals will not buy into this kind of agenda. This pressure of the ORF on the PRF, it was argued, has been part of a major strategy to confront the decline in US economic hegemony after the Golden era of capitalism and to maximize the productivity, tax returns, and expending power of underrepresented groups including Latinos. This is so because as consumption rises, taxes on purchased commodities can be applied.
- The A Nation at Risk report is often cited as the origin of current educational reform efforts. The analysis in this part of the dissertation showed how this statement is true by demonstrating how the macro-themes and macro-news of the ANAR report were important prospective constituents of texts within the "educational excellence" movement and later the NCLB act. Martin and Rose's framework on 'waves of information' was extended in order to account for intertextual relations between the focal texts. This is how the NCLB represents the textual 'summit' of a larger initiative that began by the late 70's and that was influenced by the diminished production, appropriation and distribution of surplus labor at the end of the so called "Golden era of Capitalism". Class issues and

processes as defined here are important in contextualizing the crisis in the US as a crisis on the production, appropriation, and distribution of surplus and not as a crisis in education.

- The A Nation at Risk report serves as a 'semantic watershed' for other texts and reforms throughout the 80's, 90's, and continues to be echoed in current educational reform. One of the most important ideas this report is able to advance are the notion of crisis and objectivity. Specifically, the concept of crisis is advanced through relocating the conception of risk, highly associated with the language of medicine, away from this discipline and applying it to education. The result is a massive discursive interpellation (achieved at generic and lexico-grammatical levels) that naturalizes the metaphor of disease/treatment for educational endeavors. Now associated with the prestige and power of the systematic and unbiased language of medicine and science, the "right" treatments for education (scientific-based ones) are the only ones accepted in current educational policy.
- The crisis framework is reproduced as well as transformed interdiscursively. The framework's constitutive force is evident in both the A Nation at Risk report (ANAR report) and the No Child Left behind act (NCLB act). That is, the ANAR's constructed view about crisis in education and how to resolve it (teaching, time, recommendations) is attained through the intentional macro structure of the text. Later in the NCLB act these same ideas acquire a factual and consensual status. One of the expressions of educational crisis in current

educational reform has been the recontextualization of risk as a collective phenomenon to risk as an individual endeavor.

Chapter 5, Part 3

To say that Susan's pedagogic repertoire is dialogic and that counts on, identifies, and recontextualizes deficit thinking is to say that her pedagogic repertoire (materialized through pedagogic discourse in interaction) fights against justifying avoidance of inequality. Strategic Alignment is a pedagogical repertoire based on a recontextualizing principle- the basis of pedagogic discourse. This principle selectively appropriates, relocates, refocuses, and relates to three discursive domains simultaneously. These discursive domains respond to official standards and mandates; students' rights, needs, and backgrounds; and finally to thought collectives of the profession. Such recontextualization / accommodation /challenging of established cannons is advanced in the interest of enduring purposes of student learning and education. Its intended effect is to use knowledge of the immediate context in the benefit of students' learning as mandated curricula is not only recontextualized but enhanced by attending to the other two discursive domains.

1. Pedagogic Repertoires that seek to strategically align:

    - simultaneously attend to a) official mandates and standards, b) students rights, needs, and backgrounds, and c) thought collectives of the teaching profession
    - are goal oriented, purposeful, and staged.
    - raise awareness on structural constraints
    - make use of a language that promotes a culturally nurturing environment.
    - use local knowledge of students, school etc, to make sense of students' multiple responses. -i.e., on task behaviors that seem off task.

2. Language that strategically aligns:

    1. Aims at affecting relations deeply as it:

        - seeks to recontextualize perceived constraints and obstacles into something else than the individual student and tries to recontextualize them as assets.
        - challenges students' low expectations and shows them models of adequate and not so adequate performance.
        - uses humor to defer confrontations and refocus on academic tasks
        - saves face for students frequently
        - challenges normative and traditional practices by challenging established cannons in the interest of learning
        - sees language as a resource and/or as a right
        - integrates students narratives and or culture in texts.
        - sets realistic expectations in positive ways

    2. Selectively recontextualizes at the ideational, interpersonal, and textual level

        - Strives to make the unthinkable in the curriculum thinkable by supplementing curriculum with materials more attuned to students linguistic and cultural backgrounds.
        - Includes frequent interpersonal recontextualizations that appeal to students needs, rights and backgrounds and utilizes a pedagogic repertoire that is consistent and attuned to thought collectives of the teaching profession
        - Strives to create an engaging 'pedagogic story' that creates structural expectation in students and that recurs from macrogenre to macrogenre and from lesson to lesson
        - Is explicit and uses metalanguage

3. Other characteristics of Strategic Alignment are:

    - Susan's Strategic Alignment allows her to change or recontextualize the official 'voice' of official mandates. This recontextualization not only enhanced such official voice but made available non-traditional roles for students that led them to engage with texts, voice their successes, challenges, and identities as readers, and take gradual responsibility for their learning.
    - Strategic Alignment is the ideological expression of the focal teacher's pedagogic repertoire; the 'context of ideas' that drive the construction of an academic environment that is nurturing and culturally relevant. The teacher's pedagogic repertoire is structured as a pedagogic genre that is purposeful, goal-oriented, and staged. Because its structure and purpose is similar to that of a narrative, Susan's pedagogic genre is further labeled as 'pedagogic storying'. Strategic Alignment in this classroom has a specific grammar that recurs intertextually from macro-genre to macro genre.

Chapter 5, Part 4

Chapter 5, part four completes one of the main arguments on this study: language in the focal classroom is structured as a pedagogic genre that is purposeful, goal oriented, and staged. Part four specifically highlights the staged nature of pedagogic genre and presents evidence to support the claim that if a comparison between pedagogic and other elementary genres can be made, the pedagogic genre in this classroom would resemble the narrative genre more closely.

After demonstrating the importance of macrorientations both at the macrogenre and lesson level, the argument for the staged nature of the pedagogic genre is first advanced through a comparison of some important differences in the macrorientation of both the Fairytales and the MCAS macrogenres. It was concluded that although ideally a macrorientation within a macrogenre serves as its frame of reference as it informs the topic and regulates the roles and activities that are possible within the lessons that constitute the macrogenre, such frame of reference was highly different in both macrogenres as the guidelines and curricular plan designed by America's Choice ended up constraining Susan's pedagogic recontextualization within the MCAS macrogenre. In fact, the subtle imposition of curricular priorities and frame of reference prevented Susan's from providing a comprehensive, enduring, and effective macrorientation to the macrogenre that would meet and try to match students' needs and backgrounds and instead was conducive to the creation of a macrorientation crafted outside the students cultural and academic background frame and inside the accountability frame of the NCLB.

The consequences of such difference proved to be far reaching as the moments students were engaged with texts within the MCAS macrogenre seemed to respond to lesson texture (coherence or logical relationship within the lesson) rather than to intertextual texture (cohesion or logical relations across lessons). In other words, in the absence of a macrorientation for the MCAS macrogenre, the intertextual links within this macrogenre were very weak and at times non existent. The perceived student engagement with texts, and the perceived coherent nature of lessons within the MCAS macrogenre can be attributed to coherence in lessons rather than cohesion within the macrogenre. Part four provided evidence to claim that the MCAS macrogenre and its organization was heavily associated with America's Choice and the proposed curricular unit "The Genre of Tests." The way lessons were structured corresponds to Susan's pedagogic repertoire and all the strategies she uses to engage students with texts and build an academically and nurturing environment for her students (i.e., foreshadowing, changing or making up participants of texts). This is significant because the purposeful, goal-oriented, and staged nature of lessons in the MCAS macrogenre responded to intratextual lesson coherence Susan had built with students rather than to sustained intertextual macrogenre cohesion.

In sharp contrast to this, the section presents evidence to support the claim the claim that in fact, the"Half-a-Chick" lessons not only functioned as macrorientation of the Folktales macrogenre at the experiential, interpersonal, and textual level, but the roles (interpersonal) and formats (textual) it made available in the classroom were cemented during the "Half-a-Chick" lessons and effectively carried out across macrogenres. This intertextual carry over was evident even in the absence of little space for experiential

recontextualizations (as it was the case in the MCAS macrogenre). The transfer of roles (interpersonal) and formats (textual) from the folktales to the MCAS macrogenre gives account of one of the ways in which Susan and her students were able to construct a purposeful, goal oriented, and staged structure for her classes. It is testimony of a 'pedagogic genre' realized through lexico-grammatical choices that assembled a culturally and linguistically nurturing environment for struggling readers despite the shortcomings brought up by the lack of space for ideational recontextualization.

After a thorough comparison of important differences in the macrorientation of both the Fairytales and the MCAS macrogenres, part four proceeds with the argument for the staged nature of the pedagogic genre. It does so through representative classroom examples of what is called "The Pedagogic Storying Cycle" as it makes use of the generic structure and lexicogramatical features of narratives to explain the patterned generic progression of Susan's lessons. "The Pedagogic Storying Cycle" consists of a series of obligatory and non-obligatory generic stages. Three obligatory stages were identified. The first stage is the orientation or re-orientation which both informs and regulates roles and activities that are expected. In this stage, the teacher usually foreshadows information that is to be critical later on for the student. The orientation stage presupposes a more marked relational teacher-student distance which is realized in specific lexico-grammatical choices (ie. the use of near future or the prevalence of relational processes that distribute or provide attributes). This is so because during the orientation stage in a lesson, the teacher seeks to enact more traditional roles as she informs students about the topic of the class and the roles and activities that will be carried out.

The second stage is made up by the literacy activities in which the bulk of the instruction in the literacy pedagogic genre is carried out. In this stage, students are called to 'do' things and teacher's language usually shifts from a near future (usually involving going to) to simple present. The last stage of the 'Pedagogic Storying cycle' called Pedagogic Climax responds to the interrogation of what was learned by students during the lesson. It is a very exciting stage and it is usually accompanied by personal narratives that enlighten the academic points made or by imaginative accounts of some sort. It is therefore not surprising that the language used within this stage is both retrospective and prospective. It is retrospective because it looks at the literacy events and usually ties up with what was foreshadowed in the orientation and reaffirmed in the literacy events. It is prospective because the knowledge gained becomes an anchor for new knowledge. The retrospective characteristics of this stage are almost always teacher lead, but it is usually students' input the one that keeps the discussion flowing.

Although several representative examples provide positive evidence to the stages in the "Pedagogic Storying Cycle", the detailed description of a lesson in which the teacher faced multiple difficulties to reach a climax due to factors outside of her immediate control served as a timely illustration to the idea of a lesson as a social practice constrained and enabled by schooling and surrounding communities in particular. This micro cosmos of the classroom is overdetermined by different constituents at the institutional and macro level as well as constituents at the individual level. This individual level was realized in Susan's pedagogic repertoire and students' interaction with it and with their peers.

The final section of Chapter 5, Part 4 highlights the indeterminacy and complexity of any educational endeavor as it situates education as a contested terrain even in the era of 'high stakes' education. Teacher's agency and their 'space to maneuver' should always be an integral part of program implementation as teachers themselves are critical in enhancing mandates and standards when they strategically align and use human and technical resources in the service of learning.

A big part of Susan's capacity to enhance student's learning was her deep understanding of teaching, learning, and education. By deep understanding I mostly mean the ability to exercise informed and principled flexibility in her pedagogic practice. This flexibility, it is argued, is rooted in the ideological principles of strategic alignment and is realized through purposeful, goal-oriented and staged practices assembling a linguistically and culturally nurturing environment for struggling readers. Through the detailed linguistic account of Susan's pedagogic repertoire and the identification of her patterned pedagogic recontextualizations, strategic alignment is positioned as a frame of reference likely to better serve all stakeholders in contemporary educational reform.

Implications

Implications for Educational Reform

In the current "knowledge-based" society there is a pervasive 'rhetoric saturation' of dominant meanings (Friedman's "ideas lying around" referenced in the introduction) towards the construction of 'economic imaginaries' (see page 147) that benefit certain dominant groups. The social propagation of thought, value, and power, is ultimately

packaged and sold in language. This is especially so in this knowledge economy era in which cognition, language, and political economy are conflating allowing the socio-cognitive, sociolinguistic creations of expert dialects to operate as reified abstractions that can be appropriated, bought, deployed, and sold within the proprietary domains of the knowledge economy's infrastructure.

The existing constitution of economic imaginaries with neoliberal overtones that promise "political and social freedom" (Friedman & Friedman, 1982) is deceiving as it has used rhetoric saturation possible in the era of globalization and textual interpellation to advance an misleading argument of crisis in education. Back in the literature review, we referenced authors that argue that neoliberals strive for a weak state in which public schools no longer exist and are replaced by non-public agencies, which will function as decentralized, private autonomous institutions. This is exactly what is made possible with the new provisions of the NCLB act under which the state or private companies with a proven record of effectiveness can oversee the operations of a school. As it was shown in this study, America's Choice was given autonomy to take over curricular operations in the focal public school.

Postmodern class analysis of capitalism (Resnick & Wolff, 1987) contend that one of the most important conditions for capitalist exploitation exists as those who produce surplus are distanced from those who appropriate it and distribute it. Similarly, the conditions for interpellation (an ideological condition of existence of exploitation) are present when those who produce and distribute educational discourse (bureaucrats) are not the same ones and those who are called to experience it (teachers and students). That is, in current capitalist hegemonic relations interpellation is to ideology as exploitation is

to class. A response by the executive director of the American Association of School Administrators to a recent article and editorial that appeared in the Washington Post describing the challenge that the state of Virginia made to the No Child left Behind legislation makes this point succinctly:

> The No Child Left Behind Act is illustrative of what happens when those who know little about a topic create rules and regulations for those who must do the work. The educational amateurs on Capitol Hill and the bureaucrats at the Education Department created a law that, whatever their intentions, has proved to be unworkable at the classroom level on nearly every front. The assumption that schools were not addressing issues related to learners with limited English skills before No Child Left Behind is as insulting as it is wrong…Forcing such students to take tests that do not measure what they know or that overlook their English-language development is illogical and impairs the progress that everyone wants. Fairfax County and the other districts in Virginia have not given the law no "regard," as the editorial stated. They have been facing the challenges with determination and dedication as to what is best for children." (PAUL D. HOUSTON, Putting Children Ahead of 'No Child' Tuesday, February 6, 2007; A16 Washington Post, Letter. Regarding the Feb. 1 Metro article "Va. Is Urged to Obey 'No Child' on Reading Test" and the Jan. 30 editorial "Left Behind").

Specifically talking about the education of "Emergent Bilinguals"[37] , the focus student population in the present study, three participants of the Research Initiative of the Campaign for Educational Equity promoted by Teachers College at Columbia University (Ofelia García, Jo Anne Kleifgen, and Lorraine Falchi) produced a very recent research review which stresses the fact that there is "a growing dissonance between research on the education of emergent bilinguals and policy enacted to educate them." This dissonance, they claim, is responsible for much of the miseducation of English language learners in the United States and their failure in school. They further contend that educators, closer to the ground than policymakers and traditional researchers,

> …are often caught in the middle of the conflict between research, policy, and the immediacy of having to educate English language learners. As a

> result, educators' teaching practices often suffer as educators strive to find alternative ways of carrying out top-down national and local educational policies that are plainly misguided for the education of these children.

This dissertation documented how the teacher's pedagogic repertoire addresses this dissonance as her teaching practices effectively not only minimized conditions of interpellation and the negative impact of current accountability in students but also enhanced official standards and mandates. It also showed how Susan's teaching practices also suffered as she was sometimes unable to find alternative ways of carrying out America's Choice's guidelines. It is in this way that this dissertation specifically and with linguistic detail contributes to the important work carried out by García, Kleifgen, and Falchi as it foregrounds other set of influential 'ideas lying around' that Friedman does not take into account and that support the claim that "schools change reforms as much or more than reforms change schools" (D. B. Tyack & Cuban, 1995).

The co-construction of pedagogic genres in the focal classroom was realized through dialogic instead of technocratic language and it was a process that maximized learning as distanced mandates were often experientially, interpersonally, and textually recontextualized to better serve learning according to Strategic Alignment principles. This study showed how technocratic discourse is to interpellation as dialogical discourse is to learning. One of the manifestations of such interpellation is the relocation of risk from the ANAR report to the NCLB act as one located in the individual with medical associations in youth. Ingrained deficit and blame become the result of individual 'poor choices' and not of unequal distribution of discursive, material, and social resources. This process leaves the current state of affairs at best backgrounded and at worst untouched, promoting the status quo and masking structural inequality.

In a classroom such as the one studied here in which the recontextualized principle is guided by the Strategic alignment framework that advances a pedagogic genre that is purposeful, goal-oriented, and staged, the message of a nurturing and culturally relevant academic environment is foregrounded. The message (what is built in interaction) consistently dislocated the voice (what is officially mandated) and with it, the message articulated in the pedagogic device relationship is able to build up on and highlight students' strengths and cultural capital of unrecognized or little value within the official voice. The pedagogic relationship enacted by the pedagogic device in this classroom is dialogic as opposed to technocratic; it highlights collaboration and co-construction instead of competition. More importantly, this relationship not only successfully contests and recontextualizes but enhances the official voice represented by distant law makers.

Viewed under this new framework, little battles against a dominating neoliberal economic rationality for education are fought and often won in the everyday interactions of classrooms. Some may venture to say that the compilation of such battles could be eventually significant as to weaken the very foundations of neoliberal reform of our time: education and local recontextualization of pedagogical interactions as a potential 'weak link' of capitalism. However, there is no reason to think that this indeed may be the case. For one thing, these results may not be representative and common enough. More importantly, under current circumstances, private 'turn around' partners are trying hard to build a record of effectiveness so that they can work with more schools and get more contracts.

The big danger is that under this accountability frame, the exceptional teaching and recontextualization that enhances curriculum through strategic alignment will end up being the best ally for these companies as they claim success as their own. Under the current era, the idea of enhancing curricular mandates through Strategic Alignment may just be the beginning of the end for public education as private companies such America's Choice take all the merit when schools effectively become 'turn around partners'. If the opposite is true, that is, the school keeps being labeled as underperforming, deficit discourses explaining student's failure or blaming teachers for not sticking to the script are very common (Eldersky & Bomer, 2005). While recontextualization at the micro level is essential for an enhanced education for English Language Learners in particular and all students in general, such recontextualization should be marked by a restructuration of current unequal class structures that goes well beyond pedagogy.

Going Beyond Pedagogy

One of the assumptions of current accountability frames represented by the NCLB act is that schools alone (NOT non-school conditions) are responsible for unequal academic achievement: schools are either failing to work hard enough, lowering expectations, resisting change or 'making excuses' (Crawford, 2007). However, one of the most important conclusions of the recent edited volume which brings a wealth of educational experts from all over the country "Holding NCLB Accountable: Achieving Accountability, Equity, and School Reform" is that to offset the disadvantages faced by historically lower performing groups of students, in-school programs and reforms need to

be complemented with out-of-school interventions and programs that address non-school conditions such as housing, poverty, health care, and safety (Sunderman, 2008).

While the language of Neoliberalism dismisses structural inequality and places risks and deficit within the individual, the language of Susan's pedagogic repertoire (guided by the principles of Strategic Alignment) counts on and identifies, but also recontextualizes deficit thinking as it identifies and questions structural inequalities that may explain much of students' struggles. In her everyday talk, Susan makes available new frames of reference that transcend the individual and highlights the collective. A brief example that illustrates this point is reference below.

In this lesson, already referenced before, the teacher is following a prescribed lesson plan aiming at preparing students for the poetry session of the MCAS (Massachusetts State Exam). After reading the poem "I know why the caged bird sings" by Maya Angelou, the teacher leads a discussion to address the prompt: What conditions of the human spirit do the caged bird and the free bird represent?

1. Susan: the question was read the poem entitled 'Caged Bird' and think about (now
2. they are asking you to think) think about what the free bird and the caged bird
3. represent.
4. What they represent. They use birds. But the poet just used that so that you can paint a
5. picture in your mind. She's not really…talking about birds. She's using language to
6. make you … think about something else.
7. What conditions of the human spirit (TOUCHES HEART). Do the caged bird and the
8. free bird represent. What do you think she is using these birds to talk about. Explain
9. your answers using detailed evidence from the poem.
10. S1: …..Slaves
11. Susan: We are not gonna… we are just talking about it.
12. Susan: so you're … your thinking of slaves because of what?.
13. S1: Like the free bird is like
14. S2: the white bird
15. S1: like the white bird. The caged bird is like the black bird in a sense. Black people
16. were slaves
17. S2: The black bird is …….
18. S1: the white people were free

19. S3: they put them in a cage
20. S1: I don't know .....
21. Susan: OK.
22. S4: I think about…like killers?
23. S2: In Jail?
24. Susan: Because the cage is like a prison? … Do you have to be in Jail to be in prison?
25. Students: No?
26. Susan: Could you be in prison in your (POINTS TO HER HEAD)
27. Students: //mind/
28. Susan: mind?
29. Susan: Uhmm….(PAUSES TO THINK ABOUT EXAMPLE)
30. Some rich kids, they feel like going to France to look at art before they do their
31. styrofoam piece. Their parents might just put them on a plane and tell them: hey, you
32. know what, go to Paris for a week. We'll put you up on the best hotel, you can study
33. all those prints. Then when you come back, how good do you think you'll styrofoam
34. pictures could be? … pretty neat.
35. Then there's us (LAUGHS).
36. Students: YEAH
37. Susan: ok. Look around the room. Find something to write about.
38. We really, we got to really use our minds to imagine because we may not be able to
39. fly to Paris to look at art. So the art that we see.. is what's around us. So in a way, we
40. may be a caged bird, I don't know.

Despite the glossy generalization of 'rich kids' and their experiences, Susan is successful in making the poem relevant to her students lives and backgrounds. Simultaneously and perhaps more importantly, she addresses and provides an alternative frame of reference for students that highlights structural inequality and the possibilities it opens up for her students as they are called to 'use your minds to imagine'.

In contrast to this and following Crawford, Neoliberal reform represented by the NCLB act, justifies avoidance of inequality (Crawford, 2007). Lemke 1995 explains the rationale for this avoidance, which I call Neoliberal because its most powerful rationality is the economic:

> From a political perspective, conservatives and technocrats alike find it not in their interest to contemplate the extremely large capital expenditures, or the radical transformations of class relationships, necessary to change the effects of socioeconomic status or eliminate poverty. It is in their interests to say that there is a cheaper way, and to give great emphasis to

> 'research findings' that support this position, and none to those that might discredit it. (Lemke 1995 p. 69).

In the field of teacher education the work of Comber and Kamler points out to position teachers as makers of culture by engaging in contesting the 'deficit' discourses some teachers are passed to with the tools of teacher research. In a recent article (Comber & Kamler, 2004) and a book that evolved out of the same project (2005) the authors report on research confronting the problem of the circularity and persistence of deficit discourses. Comber and Kamler begin their argument by stating that the fact that children growing up in poverty are likely to be in the lower levels of achievement in standardized tests is not a new phenomenon. They then continue with:

> One of the most damning failures of teacher education (both service and pre-service), is that pervasive deficit discourses are still so dominant in classrooms and staffrooms; that they are reproduced in student files, educational journals and conferences, and reported as fact in media coverage of young people and schooling."

They set out to correct this failure by promoting teachers investigating unequal literacy outcomes and making their way out of deficit analyses. Following the work of Cochran-Smith and Lytle, they argue that sustainable commitment to social justice through literacy education is a long-term project that could only be achieved in reciprocal research relationships with teachers (Cochran-Smith & Lytle, 1993). That is, the core ideas in their project rightly advocates for disrupting deficit discourses and re-designing new pedagogical repertoires to reconnect with children's lifeworlds through a long-term project best achieved in reciprocal research relationships with teachers. They conclude that adopting a research stance towards the children the teachers were most worried about led teachers to re-examine their deficit assumptions about those children and their families. Disrupting deficit discourses requires serious intellectual engagement by

teachers over an extended period of time in ways that foster teacher agency and respect, without celebrating the status quo.

I welcome and hold up this kind of work since it points to positioning teachers in ways that they are able to speak to discourses that construct their consciousness (i.e., their expectations of children from poor backgrounds). However, this pedagogic approach is insufficient to study their assertion that children growing up in poverty are likely to be in the lower ranges of achievement on standardized literacy tests. In implying that the solution is a pedagogical one, a pedagogy of reconnection, they fail to ask that there must be some processes that have contributed to ingrain such deficit discourses in them. That is, why is it that this happens? How does it happen? If teachers were able to re-examine their deficit assumptions, as Comber and Kamer point out in their research, and they are advocating for pedagogies of reconnection, where and how did teachers get these deficit assumptions in the first place? How are these ideas transmitted into teachers and how are they enacted in the classroom? In whose interest do this work? Why focusing on a pedagogy of reconnection without recognizing what was originally causing the displacement of such pedagogy?

As it has been documented in this dissertation, important textual watersheds responding to capitalist Neoliberal ideology have been in part responsible for redrawing new educational discourse which brings together the language of education and the language of the marketplace. This kind of analysis sees educational practices in relation to the class and non class constituents of a capitalist society. As such, this approach views the economic nature of educational reform less as dominated by a juggernaut of capitalism and more by a capitalist market driven discursive takeover of educational

policy that nevertheless opens space for class transition and transformation (Gibson-Graham et al., 2001).

The profound and non-reformist nature of the approach proposed here aims at informing educational matters without necessarily falling into discussions about or oscillating viciously between methodological fads that have characterized US education or falling into a mere debate over which method is right to teach literacy (A. Luke, 1998). The analysis pointed instead to a socio discursive description of some of the macro and micro conditions of existence of an education that for the most part and for the most people has supported, maintained and promoted peoples' acceptance of their own exploitation and interpellation. What has been done up to now has been a political theory that is already a discursive theory a la Foucault such as the one described in Laclau and Mouffe's Hegemony as Socialist Strategy (1985). The present is an effort to integrate some of the intertextual thematic formations proposed by radical social theorists and political economists mentioned here into a textual analysis of pedagogic practices in the context of a classroom regulated by Neoliberal ideas originally advance by the ANAR report and its subsequent textual waves and the Reading First provisions of the No Child Left Behind act.

Despite the danger posed by strategic alignment and pedagogic genres that are constrained as they are co-opted by the accountability frame, the idea of just following scripts and mandates without teachers' recontextualization is certainly much more unbearable. This dissertation shows how for the focal teacher using students' linguistic and cultural backgrounds as a resource is almost a commonsensical practice; one that is closely tied to John Dewey's early call to organize teaching so that it takes into account

children's prior experiences (Dewey, 1938), but one that is only attainable if we pay attention to non-school issues as well.

Implications for Marxist Theory

Many analysis point to the ANAR report as the origin or significant contributor on current educational reform efforts. Most analysis however, are not explicit on the way this document does so. That is, they do not go beyond ideological parallels that traditionally lack the tools, ignore, or simply disregard close linguistic analysis. This is how under the hegemonic circumstances of the economic determinism of neoliberal ideology, even radical analysis that attack neoliberal approaches (i.e., Marxist) are taken up and neutralized. That is, under the discourse of economic determinism –close to both Marxist and neoliberal ideological roots (see Aoki 1994)- neoliberals have successfully imposed not only fictitious measures of 'educational crisis'-fictitious because crisis is only measured in economic terms- (Aoki 1994), but have also dragged criticalists into attacking neoliberal laissez faire politics on the very discursive grounds produced by neoliberalism. Thus, as some Marxists themselves claim:

> We have criticized the neoliberal model for being unjust, inhumane, retrograde, and for benefiting capital exclusively, but we have argued around signs like 'efficiency', deficit, modernization, profitability, and rationalization. Not only have we been prisoners of the dominant discourse, but we have been unable to impose ideological signs with the Marxist left's own values. (Raiter, 1999).

The analysis advanced here realized ideological parallel anchored in evidence provided by linguistic analysis. This is how it was possible to use discourse as a bridge between 'ensemble of relations' particular to the economic realm during the mid-70's and their textual manifestations in the ANAR report and the NCLB act. Linguistic evidence

was instrumental in cataloguing the ANAR report as a representative text creating a 'semantic watershed' that created the conditions, the 'mood', or motifs for recurrent thematic formations which are instantiated again and again in different local, national and transnational contexts by different agents and that find their summit in the NCLB. This kind of specialized analysis is necessary because dominant meanings are dispersed using grammatical patterns that lie beneath the threshold of consciousness and thus might be able to interpellate subjects linguistically and therefore ideologically.

APPENDIX A. LIST OF CODES

Awareness of structural constraints
Curriculum Closure
Curriculum Initiation
Curriculum Negotiation
Curriculum Transition
Generic structure of Lesson
Humor as Motivator
Integrating Students narratives and or culture
Integrating Students narratives into texts
Interpersonal Metaphor
Interpersonal Relations
Language as a Resource
Language as a Right
Macro Constraints
MCAS Expectations
Meso Constraints
Micro Constraints
Multiactivity Classroom
on task comments that seemed off task
One on One Feedback
Pedagogic Climax
Post Reading Activities
Resistance to MCAS
Saving Face for Students
Scaffolding Linguistic Features
Scaffolding Reading
Scaffolding Text Structure
Silly Moments Students Susan
Strategic Alignment
Students as Conciliators
Students as Text Analysts
Students Eager to Read
Students Expectations
Susan Saving Face for Students
Susan's Evaluation of SS work
Susan's Expectations
TEXTS on Camera
Traces of Normative Practices
Using Students work as models

APPENDIX B. MEDIO POLLITO NARRATIVE

Summary

Half-a-chick decides to travel to the capital to find a doctor to repair or add his missing half. He has one leg, one eye, and one wing but believes he is better than everyone in the chicken coop and cannot stand being there anymore. Before leaving, his mother gives him advice, which he does not follow. On his way to the capital he refuses to help river, wind, and fire. When he finally arrives to the big city, he confuses the king and queen with the cooks of the palace. He is overcooked and thrown out of the kitchen window. The wind picks him and takes him high in the air and puts him on top of the cathedral where he becomes a weathercock at the mercy of the rain, the wind, and the hot sun. The story focuses on the punishment of arrogance and conceit. Half-a-chick pays dearly for his attitude and treatment of those in need. The full translation of this tale is found in the following pages.

FOLKTALE:
EL MEDIO POLLITO (HALF-A-CHICK)

Once upon a time and two more makes three, a beautiful hen hatched many chicks but among them there was one that was different from the others, with only one eye, one leg, and one wing. Mother Hen loved him just a little more because she felt sorry for him. So it happened that with all this extra attention Half-a-chick became very arrogant and conceited; he would look down upon his brothers and sisters with dislike. If the others made fun of him, he thought it was because they were jealous of him. If the pretty chicks looked at him with disgust or anger, he thought it was because lie did not pay attention to any of them. One day Half-a-chick told his mother that the chicken coop where he lived was too small and not good enough for him and that he was going to go to the big city where he could be with really important people. Mother Hen started to tremble when she heard this because she knew that everyone would make fun of him and that he would be very unhappy there. "My son," she said, "where did you get such a silly idea?" Your father has never left this chicken coop and we have been very happy here. Where are you going to find more love than here with us?" Half-a-chick answered, "I sent to go where the king and queen live, I want to meet them! Everyone here is very stupid and inferior to me." Mother Hen could not stand to hear him any longer and said," Son, haven't you seen your reflection in the	***Introduction or Orientation*** Introduces the characters, the setting, and the conflict. **Events** leading to a progressive **Complication** **Events** leading to a progressive **Complication** **Events** leading to a

pond? You have only one wing, one leg, and one eye! That is your disgrace because your father was very handsome." "Don't talk to me about my father's good looks!" grumbled Half-a-chick, "It's *your* fault that I look like this! It was your egg . . ." Mother Hen sadly lowered her head until her until her beak touched the ground. She felt helpless; she couldn't give Half-a-chick his missing half. She whispered, "Forgive me, my son, even though it is not my fault. Yours was the last egg I laid, maybe that's the reason . . ."	progressive **Complication**
Half-a-chick interrupted her and said coldly, "In the big city I will find a doctor who will operate on me and add the parts that I'm missing. I'm leaving as soon as I can!" Since it was useless to change Half-a-chick's mind, Mother Hen decided to give him some advice. "Listen to me, my dear son, never walk in front of a church: Saint Peter and the saint there do not like roosters. Stay away from cooks: those are your worst enemies, they are experts at wringing chicken's necks." She then gave him her blessing and prayed to Saint Raphael to protect him. Finally she told him to get his father's blessing even if they did not get along very well.	**Events** leading to a progressive **Complication**
Half-a-chick went to see his father, kissed his foot, and asked for his blessing. His father, who also loved him out of pity, was very kind in his farewell. Mother Hen hid and cried. She did not want her son to see her crying. Half-a-chick flapped his only wing, crowed three times, and hopped out of the chicken coop to conquer the world.	Tension in Complication Climax
After following the road for a while he came upon a river that was almost dry. Down the center he could see a thin trickle of water. The trickle of water said faintly to Half-a-chick, "Friend, I feel so weak that I cannot push those branches out of my way, and I'm too tired to go around them. Can you move them out of the way for me? You can use your beak. I beg you! Help Me!" Looking down on the trickle, Half-a-chick responded showing no real interest, "I could get those branches out of your way, but I don't feel like it. You are a miserable little stream." Once he said this, he went on his way. The trickle screamed, "You will need me someday, you fool!"	Climax Resolution

Further down the road, he found a dying breeze lying on the ground.

"Oh good Half-a-chick, " said the weak breeze, "I am lying here and cannot get up. I am really a powerful, strong wind. I would like to go and push some waves and get tangled in the high branches of the trees. Can you lift me up with your beak? If you gave me a little shove with your wing, I could get going. The heat is killing me down here!

"Look, you dumb wind, you are getting what you deserve. You're staying right where you are! You have bothered me enough already. You have spread my feathers apart and since I only have one leg, you have pushed me against the wall. I have gotten a lot of bumps and bruises because of you, mean bad wind." Half-a-chick yelled furiously and turned to go on his way. The wind that could not get up off the ground screamed, "Every chicken gets cooked! You are a fool!"

A little while later, Half-a-chick came across a field on fire. Smoke rose high in the sky and fire was everywhere. He came closer to the flames and heard a tiny voice that said, "Half-a- chick, friend, I am a little spark that does not want to go out. I want to go up to the top of the mountain. If I go out, I will never be able to look at the sky from up high. Put some dry grass on me so that I can be a flame again. Have pity on me, Half-a-chick!"

"I am not a farmhand to gather hay for you. Snuff out!" replied Half-a-chick.

The spark gathered together its last energy and yelled, "I'll remember you! Someday you might need me, you fool!" Half-a-chick got so angry at the spark that he stomped on it with his only leg until it became ashes.

When Half-a-chick finally arrived at the big city, the first thing he did was to disobey his mother's advice. He went straight to the cathedral door and started to crow loudly so that Saint Peter would get angry. He then set out for the palace.

In front of the palace, where the king and queen lived, the guards told him to stop. For the first time in his life, he was afraid. The guards had guns! Instead of stopping, he turned around and sneaked in through a side door. Once inside the palace, Half-a-chick kept hopping and walked into a huge kitchen where the men were wearing tall white hats. He thought that they were the king and queen. He walked straight up to them. One of the cooks

Moral

grabbed him and wrung his neck. The cook yelled at his helper, "Get me some hot water to feather this sneak!"
"Oh Water, dear friend, don't scald me too much, have pity on me! begged Half-a-chick.
"Did you have pity on me when I asked you to push the branches that were in my way? Do you remember me?" Water asked.
After the cook had feathered Half-a-chick, he put him in the oven. Half-a-chick screamed at the fire, "Fire, dear friend, you are so powerful and destructive, have pity on me. Don't burn me, please!"
"You fool! Now you come with that. Don't you remember me? I was that little spark that begged you for help and to not let me die," said the fire and roasted Half-a-chick until it burned him to a crisp. Now when the cook saw the burned chick, he cursed and threw it out the window. Then the Wind swept it up.
"Dear Wind, I want to lie down on the earth, drop me anywhere, under a tree, don't take me up high, don't drop me . . . I have already suffered so much," Half-a-chick sobbed.
"What are you saying?" roared the furious Wind, while rolling Half-a-chick around and around. You have a terrible memory . . . Don't you remember when I pleaded with you to give me just a little shove, to lift me off the ground? Did you help me? No! You insulted me!"
Then the Wind started to go higher and higher in the sky, over the houses, over the buildings, until it got up to the top of the cathedral. Saint Peter grabbed Half-a-chick and put him on top of the steeple and changed him into a weathercock. And now, for the rest of his days, Half-a-chick will pay for his conceit and meanness at the mercy of the wind, the sun, and the rain; going around, and around, and around . . .

APPENDIX C. THE LANGUAGE OF NCLB. THE INDIVIDUALIZATION OF RISK

DISADVANTAGE 1 DISSADVANTAGED 15

5918. ren who move between states are not put at a **DISADVANTAGE** *because* of disparities in curriculum
5919. ence of model programs for the educationally **DISADVANTAGED** *and* the findings of relevant scienti
5920. of young children particularly those who are **DISADVANTAGED** *and* prevent them from encountering d
5921. ds more choices for parents of children from **DISADVANTAGED** *backgrounds* and an emphasis on teach
5922. performance often start early. Students from **DISADVANTAGED** *backgrounds* frequently start element
5923. - Improving The Academic Achievement Of The **DISADVANTAGED** *Improving* Basic Programs Operated by
5924. Up Fellowship program pays for economically **DISADVANTAGED** *middle* and secondary school teachers
5925. n three areas 1 fellowships for economically **DISADVANTAGED** *middle* and secondary school students
5926. for early childhood educators in areas with **DISADVANTAGED** children. *Partnerships* may provide p
5927. ty that is accessible by a large majority of **DISADVANTAGED** *preschool* and elementary school chil
5928. ind Act cont. Closes the Achievement Gap for **DISADVANTAGED** *Students* • Targets services to distr
5929. have many risk factors in common with other **DISADVANTAGED** *students* e. g. poverty poor health l
5930. r employment. Closes the Achievement Gap for **DISADVANTAGED** *Students* • Makes students returning
5931. Americans Program which serves economically **DISADVANTAGED** *students* whose families have immigra
5932. achers. Improves the Academic Performance of **DISADVANTAGED** *Students* • Sets a priority for appli
5933. tricts. Improves the Academic Performance of **DISADVANTAGED** *Students* • Targets competitive subgr

AT RISK / NEGLECTED / HIGH-POVERTY /
RISK 9

7404. ational needs of neglected delinquent and at-**RISK** *children* and youths and assist in the transit
17405. of all students. Migrant students have many **RISK** *factors* in common with other disadvantaged st
17406. and Youth Who are Neglected Delinquent or At-**RISK** *I-D* National Assessment of Title I Title 1 Ev
17407. cs 56 percent of beginning kindergartners at **RISK** *of* school failure because of factors such as
17408. and Youth who are Neglected Delinquent or At-**RISK** *provide* financial assistance to educational p
17409. are being left behind. " Since the Nation at **RISK** *report* was issued nearly 20 years ago there h
17410. Title I funds to raise the achievement of at-**RISK** *students* by improving the quality of instruct
17411. acher ratios counseling and mentoring for at-**RISK** *students* and implementing comprehensive schoo
17412. And Youth Who Are Neglected Delinquent Or At-**RISK** *Title* I Part D Purpose. The Prevention and In

NEGLECTED 15

12837. 1998-99 state agency programs served *170000* **NEGLECTED** and delinquent students while local agen
12838. tion Programs For Children And Youth Who *Are* **NEGLECTED** Delinquent Or At-Risk Title I Part D Pur
12839. tion Programs for Children and Youth who *are* **NEGLECTED** Delinquent or At-Risk provide financial
12840. nal programs for children and youths who *are* **NEGLECTED** or delinquent. What's New--The No Child
12841. tion Programs for Children and Youth Who *are* **NEGLECTED** Delinquent or At-Risk I-D National Asses
12842. ective for Title I-funded services to *assist* **NEGLECTED** or delinquent students to meet the same
12843. the correctional facility or institution *for* **NEGLECTED** or delinquent children and youths. • Par
12844. ach correctional facility or institution *for* **NEGLECTED** or delinquent children and youths to con
12845. cts that conduct a program under Title I *for* **NEGLECTED** or delinquent children and youths are re
12846. correctional facilities or institutions *for* **NEGLECTED** or delinquent children and youth to demo
12847. de the planning and operation of the Title *I* **NEGLECTED** or delinquent program at the institution
12848. required to • Meet the educational needs *of* **NEGLECTED** delinquent and at-risk children and yout
12849. the educational achievement and outcomes *of* **NEGLECTED** or delinquent children and youths. A uni
12850. *of* the state's adjusted enrollment count *of* **NEGLECTED** or delinquent children and youths. Under
12851. s *to* the delivery of educational services *to* **NEGLECTED** and delinquent youths. In 1998-99 state

HIGH NEED 37 HIGH POVERTY 14

8949. ilies with incomes below the poverty line. *A* **HIGH-NEED** LEA also may be one for which there is a
8950. ch. Eligible applicants include 1 an SEA 2 *a* **HIGH-NEED** school district 3 a for-profit or nonpro
8951. ity teachers in partnership with an SEA or *a* **HIGH-NEED** district 4 an institution of higher educ
8952. cil on Teacher Quality in partnership with *a* **HIGH-NEED** district or an SEA or another recognized
8953. nal Teaching Standards in partnership with *a* **HIGH-NEED** district or an SEA the National Council
8954. entialing organization in partnership with *a* **HIGH-NEED** district or an SE How It Achieves Qualit
8955. t an institution of higher education and 3 *a* **HIGH-NEED** local education agency. In years that th
8956. at an institution of higher education and *a* **HIGH-NEED** local education agency. Grants are award
8957. bonus of $10000 if they teach full-time in *a* **HIGH-NEED** school as an elementary secondary vocati
8958. schools *and* **HIGH-NEED** subjects collaborating with other organi
8959. ents • Sets a priority for applications *from* **HIGH-NEED** local education agencies LEAs. A "
8960. ve proven effective *in* retaining teachers *in* **HIGH-NEED** schools 2 placement activities 3 pre-and
8961. rk with children from low-income families *in* **HIGH-NEED** communities 2 one or more local or state
8962. well as financial assistance for teaching *in* **HIGH-NEED** schools. The purpose of this program is
8963. help relieve teacher shortages especially *in* **HIGH-NEED** areas such as math science and special e
8964. ring of eligible participants as teachers *in* **HIGH-NEED** schools and provide these individuals th
8965. g the number of highly qualified teachers *in* **HIGH-NEED** schools and
8966. and recent college graduates as teachers *in* **HIGH-NEED** schools. The program also supports the d
8967. ven to be effective *in* retaining teachers *in* **HIGH-NEED** schools at a maximum of $5000 per partic
8968. ood educators who are working *in* programs *in* **HIGH-NEED** communities that serve concentrations of

8969. *in* which they are qualified to teach and *in* **HIGH-NEED** schools. Grantees may carry out placemen
8970. hers are teaching *in*-field and are placed *in* **HIGH-NEED** schools. How It Works. This program prov
8971. early childhood programs that are located *in* **HIGH-NEED** communities and serve concentrations of
8972. districts or partnerships *including* **HIGH-NEED** districts on a competitive basis. Under
8973. e basis through subgrants to partnerships *of* **HIGH-NEED** districts schools of arts and sciences a
8974. 5 a consortium *of* SEAs or 6 a consortium *of* **HIGH-NEED** districts. Key Requirements Projects tha
8975. local school districts consortia *of* **HIGH-NEED** school districts and partnerships of
8976. school districts and partnerships *of* **HIGH-NEED** districts nonprofit organizations and in
8977. hers. Grants are targeted to partnerships *of* **HIGH-NEED** school districts and to science mathemat
8978. gher education in partnership with an SEA *or* **HIGH-NEED** district 5 a consortium of SEAs or 6 a c
8979. Educational Technology State Grants *Program* **HIGH-NEED** districts are those that 1 are high-pove
8980. udes among other things a description of *the* **HIGH-NEED** community to be served information on th
8981. Students • Targets competitive subgrants *to* **HIGH-NEED** districts that 1 are high-poverty and 2
8982. nder Part A of Title I and the other half *to* **HIGH-NEED** districts or partnerships including
8983. ks. This program funds competitive awards *to* **HIGH-NEED** local school districts consortia of
8984. s. • Identify and coordinate activities *with* **HIGH-NEED** school districts. • Implement Innovative
8985. local education agencies LEAs. A "**HIGH-NEED** LEA" is defined as one that serves 10000
8986. dies that find that the one attribute of *all* **HIGH-PERFORMING** schools is a dedicated and dynamic
8987. ces to districts that are low-performing *and* **HIGH-POVERTY**. Eligible school districts are those
8988. ram high-need districts *are* those that 1 *are* **HIGH-POVERTY** and 2 serve at least one low-performi
8989. subgrants to high-need districts that 1 *are* **HIGH-POVERTY** and 2 serve at least one low-performi
8990. trategies for raising student achievement *in* **HIGH-POVERTY** schools. The program focuses on promo
8991. am focuses on promoting schoolwide reform *in* **HIGH-POVERTY** schools and ensuring students' access
8992. n children's ability to read particularly *in* **HIGH-POVERTY** schools. Even in wealthier schools mo
8993. 00 and about two-thirds of fourth-graders *in* **HIGH-POVERTY** schools were unable to reach the basi
8994. gy access and use exists between students *in* **HIGH-POVERTY** schools and students in other schools
8995. omputers with Internet access was 7- to-1 *in* **HIGH-POVERTY** schools the ratio was 9- to-1 compare
8996. imilarly *in* 2000 60 percent of classrooms *in* **HIGH-POVERTY** schools were connected to the Interne
8997. one of two approaches • Schoolwide programs. **HIGH-POVERTY** schools those with 40 percent or more
8998. ogy State Grants Program which also *targeted* **HIGH-POVERTY** districts--reported that professional
8999. States must provide technical assistance *to* **HIGH-POVERTY** districts that demonstrate need for a
9000. cal assistance in developing applications *to* **HIGH-POVERTY** districts and use accountability meas

LOW-ACHIEVING 3 LOW-INCOME 22 LOW-PERFORMING 11

11770. and improving educational opportunities *for* **LOW-ACHIEVING** students. • The law establishes new
11771. oolwide programs to raise the achievement *of* **LOW-ACHIEVING** students by improving instruction th
11772. itle I funds *to* provide targeted services *to* **LOW-ACHIEVING** students. Title I funds may be used

11773. VI-B-1 Rural Education Initiative Rural *and* **LOW-INCOME** Schools VI-B-2 General Provisions Natio
11774. iciency migrant status disability status *and* **LOW-INCOME** status. The report cards must include o
11775. ing AP tests by helping to pay test fees *for* **LOW-INCOME** students in AP classes and expanding ac
11776. reak the cycle of poverty and illiteracy *for* **LOW-INCOME** families. The basic premise behind Even
11777. ents reaching proficiency was even lower *for* **LOW-INCOME** students 13 percent African Americans 1
11778. nd participation in AP courses and tests *for* **LOW-INCOME** students through teacher training devel
11779. s are awarded to states to pay test fees *for* **LOW-INCOME** students enrolled in AP courses. Funds
11780. ldhood educators who work with children *from* **LOW-INCOME** families in high-need communities 2 one
11781. s that serve concentrations of children *from* **LOW-INCOME** families. Those activities may include
11782. es and serve concentrations of children *from* **LOW-INCOME** families. Partnerships may provide the
11783. ng Title I funds if necessary. Students *from* **LOW-INCOME** families in schools that fail to meet s
11784. those with 40 percent or more students *from* **LOW-INCOME** families are eligible to adopt schoolwi
11785. arly progress for a third year students *from* **LOW-INCOME** families in the school must be given th
11786. n to young children especially children *from* **LOW-INCOME** families. It is vital that early educat
11787. overty schools those with 75 percent or *more* **LOW-INCOME** students received Title I funds. Title
11788. grams are designed to increase the number *of* **LOW-INCOME** students participating in AP classes an
11789. icts and schools with high concentrations *of* **LOW-INCOME** students. How Performance Is Measured A
11790. e allocated to states based on the number *of* **LOW-INCOME** students in the state in relation to th
11791. the state in relation to the total number *of* **LOW-INCOME** students in the nation. 2. Advanced Pla
11792. below. • Requires school districts to *permit* **LOW-INCOME** students attending chronically under- p
11793. Even Start Family Literacy Program *provides* **LOW-INCOME** families with integrated literacy servi
11794. ensure that all groups of *students—including* **LOW-INCOME** students students from major racial and
11795. nts • Targets services to districts that *are* **LOW-PERFORMING** and high-poverty. Eligible school d
11796. hievement of all students and turning *around* **LOW-PERFORMING** schools while providing alternative
11797. e in the number of CSR schools identified *as* **LOW-PERFORMING**. Advanced Placement Title I Part G
11798. chievement but also provide an incentive *for* **LOW-PERFORMING** schools to improve. Schools that wa
11799. ruction and performance. Further students *in* **LOW-PERFORMING** schools will have the option to tra
11800. rental Choice Parents of children who are *in* **LOW-PERFORMING** schools are given a new range of op
11801. 1 are high-poverty and 2 serve at least *one* **LOW-PERFORMING** school or have a substantial need f
11802. 1 are high-poverty and 2 serve at least *one* **LOW-PERFORMING** school or have a substantial need f
11803. sly SEAs were encouraged *to* give priority *to* **LOW-PERFORMING** schools. Now states are required to
11804. achievement results. • Priority is given *to* **LOW-PERFORMING** schools. Previously SEAs were encou
11805. chnical assistance that districts provide *to* **LOW-PERFORMING** schools must be based on strategies
11806. ers including a comparison between high- *and* **LOW-POVERTY** schools. • School District Report Card
11807. the ratio was 9- to-1 compared to 6-to-1 *in* **LOW-POVERTY** schools. Similarly in 2000 60 percent

APPENDIX D. A NOTE ON VIDEOCLIPS

All the transcriptions present in this study were gathered from ethnographic video data. Closed captioned videoclips of nearly all the transcriptions present in this study are available. Due to dissertation guidelines and electronic formatting restrictions, the videoclips could not be attached to the corresponding transcript in this document. Web versions of this same dissertation in which this technical feature has been possible will be available soon. For more information contact Dr. J. Andrés Ramírez at jramirez©ric.edu (the © symbol replaces the @ symbol and it is used to avoid undesired mail).

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NOTES

[1] Specific details about how the "language of science" advanced by the NCLB opens the profit avenue for private companies in unprecedented ways will be discussed in the review of literature section.

[2] See the issues in education section of the NEA website (National Education Association) for a wealth of resources on these kind of initiatives, the think tanks that promote them, and the disappointing effects that have had in states (i.e., Colorado) which had implemented them.

[3] According to the National Center for Education Statistics in 2000, the status dropout rate for Hispanics was 28%, many times higher than the 7% rate for Whites and the 13% rate for Blacks.

[4] Wage goods are monthly incidentals that the average person buys, generally speaking clothing, and clothing accessories, and household items..

[5] Capital goods are objects owned by individuals, organizations, or governments to be used in the production of other goods or commodities.

[6] Value here is not understood in the dominant purely monetary understanding but in a broadest political economy sense (see Graham 2006 especially chapter 6 "Making Value with Policy").

[7] Bourdieu and Passeron first developed the term to analyze how culture and education contribute to social reproduction. The term is originally defined as high status cultural signals in cultural and social selection. Since then, the concept of cultural capital has been redefined by a number of scholars across the globe. Lamont and Lareau 1988, provide a particularly useful review on the term and its application in the U.S. context.

[8] At risk students are defined here as students of diverse backgrounds. These are students who differ from the mainstream in ethnicity, primary language, and social class (Au & Raphael, 2000).

[9] For an excellent critical review of the "No Excuses" report by the Heritage Foundation, see Allington 2002.

[10] This quote was taken from an exercise Dr. Wolff asks students to complete as a requirement for one of his classes on Marxian thought at UMass-Amherst in which I participated.

[11] See Spring, Joel 1998, p. 120

[12] For an example, see the National Reading Panel Report, 2000, or the May 1998 issue of Reading Teacher (vol. 51, no. 8, 63651).

[13] See Atkinson, Davies and Delamont for specific examples on the struggle over the pedagogical device (i.e Apple, Ball, Edwards).

[14] Four studies published in the last two years. Number 4 is from the US government report.

[15] See Kate Menken' adapted table from Zelasko & Antunez, 2000 (p. 21) describing the characteristics of the Major Program Models for English Language Learners in the U.S.

[16] The literacy collaborative model belongs to the Rigby literacy Group, and this is one of the models that was most affected by the conflict of interest demonstrated in the final inspection report by the U.S Department of Education, Office of Inspector General released in September 2006. The report found that the USDE (United States Department of Education) had failed to exemplify management integrity and accountability as the panel identified six panelists whose resumes revealed significant professional connections to a teaching methodology that requires the use of a specific reading program. In addition they found that officials had:

Developed an application package that obscured the requirements of the statute;

Taken action with respect to the expert review panel process that was contrary to the balanced panel composition envisioned by Congress;

Intervened to release an assessment review document without the permission of the entity that contracted for its development;

Intervened to influence a State's selection of reading programs; and

Intervened to influence reading programs being used by local educational agencies (LEAs) after the application process was completed (Office of Inspector General, 2006).

[17] The Research Foundations of the Start-to-Finish® Library can be found at http://www.donjohnston.co.uk/catalog/stfwhitepaper.htm

[18] This study was carried out in the context of a school university partnership called The ACCELA Alliance (Access to Critical Content and English Language Acquisition) whose purpose was to collaborate with local school districts and communities in Massachusetts to find more effective ways to support English language learners (ELLs) who are acquiring both English and academic content. ACCELA, funded through a Title VII

Career Ladder Grant, sought to increase the number of teachers who were able to help English language learners in such a task.
This inquiry-based teacher education program lead more than 60 teachers to either M. Ed, CAGS, or Licensure in ESL, and provided inservice teachers, waivered teachers, and paraprofessionals working in elementary or middle schools with an opportunity to learn about how to better work with English language learners in the mainstream classroom. Courses were taught by faculty from the Practitioner Program in the School of Education of a major university in Massachusetts together with Project Assistants, who worked with teachers on their inquiry projects.

[19] Here is not the time or place to elaborate on these effects, but some were certainly interventions that sought to fulfill a requirement of the class while other more frequent ones were more enduring, transformative and long lasting touching core issues in teaching as opposed to simply a focus on an intervention or activity.

[20] The MELA-O is also used as the MEPA test, but this test assesses the listening and speaking abilities of ELL's.

[21] This term refers to the academic endeavor to theorize the other and construct it around ideologies that extend a 'benign' surveillance onto the other; of theorizing the other in an inside out way that does not necessarily matches with how the other sees him/herself. This position is very common among criticalists in the mainstream who align themselves with oppressed cultures, "the other", but that in this very act are constructing this other as victimized while assigning a role of oppressor to the dominant powerful paradigm, thus maintaining the status quo by, in the case of globalization, 'globalizing the discourses of globalization' (p. 277).

[22] Distanced literacy sponsors are those associated with governmental and corporate entities. While local literacy sponsors refer to the immediate community including parents, school staff and teachers.

[23] Glaser and Strauss (1967) refer to this process as "grounded theory", Spradley (1979) refers to the same process as domain and structural analysis (see LeCompte & Schensul 1999 p. 15).

[24] The two Macrogenres will be referred to as "The Fairy Tale" and the "MCAS" Macrogenres. More details about them can be found in the findings section, part III.

[25] This included digital pictures of lesson plans, student work. Scans of these were initially attempted but the process proved to be too cumbersome. Taking digital pictures of relevant documents was less intrusive, less time consuming and more effective.

[26] See Eggins 1994 for a detailed explanation of these and other basic concepts in SFL.

[27] The No Child Left Behind Act does not have an introduction. However, the text to be analyzed here, officially produced by the department of education, "No Child Left Behind: A Desktop Reference" does.

[28] See Lemke 1995 for other examples of the use of nominalization to pack or condense abstract ideas.

[29] The Collins Wordbanks*Online* (www.collins.co.uk/Corpus/CorpusSearch.aspx) is a 56 million word sample corpus of contemporary written and spoken language from the Cobuild corpus, also known as the Bank of English, which itself contains over 500 million words of modern British and American English. CANCODE, the Cambridge and

Nottingham Corpus of Discourse in English, is a 5 million word corpus of mainly casual conversation.

[30] This statement and its implications owe a lot to Michel Focault's work on genealogy.

[31] A lot of meanings are assumed in the nominalization "educational excellence". What does it mean? For whom does it mean so? By using nominalizations such as this, assumptions about education and what its purpose is are left unsaid, assumed, and unstated. Educational excellence may be associated with an education that produces the right workers for the economy or its goal may be to produce students who score well on standardized tests.

[32] The embedded clause used by president Bush: "para todos que viven en este pais" is missing the article 'los" before "que". The preposition "in" should be replaced by "en". The correct phrase should be 'para todos *los* que viven en este pais.'

[33] This comment refers to the fact that the group members of the READ 180 were still grappling with the computer program, there were new members added to the group, and needed a lighter reading before taking up the task of beginning to read a chapter book.

[34] The reservoir/repertoire metaphor is an adaptation from Basil Bernstein (1990; 2000).

[35] Although I participated as a participant observant in many ways in this classroom (i.e., as a resource in Spanish, reading out loud, solving questions students had), this vignette shows the most enduring way in which my participation was evident in the classroom.

[36] The book pass activity simply consisted in prompting students to skim quickly through a book, record some of its characteristics, and then pass it clockwise to the next person. The cycle repeats until everybody has looked at all the books and then the teacher asks the students about the characteristics they noticed in the books, and why they liked a specific book.

[37] Garcia, Kleifgen, and Falchi content that English language learners are in fact *emergent bilinguals because* through school and through acquiring English, these children become *bilingual* as they are able to continue to function in their home language as well as in English, their new language and that of school.


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